

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY VOL. 51 1973

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# JOURNAL

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## INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. LI Part II

August 1973

Serial No. 152

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PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR April, August, and December

Annual subscription:

Inland Rs. 25

Foreign Rs. 40

Contributions, remittances, books for review (two copies each), and correspondence should be sent to:—

Dr. T. K. RAVINDRAN,
Editor,

Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala
TRIVANDRUM

Vol. LI Part II

August 1973

Sefial No. 152

## JOURNAL

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## INDIAN HISTORY

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### Terracotta Figurines from Shahabad

BY

K. N. DIKSHIT

#### The Discovery

Situated about 30 kms. south-east from Shahjahanpur, the town of Shahabad, Hardoi District, Uttar Pradesh, has a series of connected mounds on its south-eastern side. The archaeological wealth of the site was noticed first by Dr. Jagdish Gupta¹ of Allahabad University who picked up ochre-coloured ware, copper-hoard implements, terracotta figurines and coins from this place. Later on Dr. V. N. Misra² of Deccan College, Poona, further explored the area in a systematic way. In exploration these mounds yielded Painted Grey and Northern Black Polished Wares, Gupta terracotta figurines and a mediaeval copper coin.

These two terracotta figurines from Shahabad were purchased by the Art Purchase Committee of the National Museum, New Delhi from Dr. Jagdish Gupta in 1971. They are now with the Department of the Prehistoric Archaeology of the museum.

#### Description

## 1. Terracotta Male Head and Bust (Acc. No. 71.230)

The terracotta figurine (Plate I) which is partly worn out, is 2.5 cms. in height. The traces of black slip can be also seen. It is of dark-brown colour and is inadequately fired. The face which is quite crude in execution slightly tilts towards left. It has no forehead and is flat at the top. The front half portion of the skull seems to be shaven, whereas on both the ends of occipital part two locks are falling on the shoulder. This is a peculiar feature. The

<sup>1.</sup> Dr. Jagdish Gupta, Department of Hindi, Allahabad University, Private Communication.

<sup>2.</sup> Indian Archaeology-A Review 1965-66 (in the press).

#### JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

prominent eye-brows have assimilated even the eyes. The wide mouth has assymetrical thick lips. The bust has traces of transparent drapery. It is handmade and the back is also unfinished.

This terracotta is important as it recalls the profile and execution of the famous dancing girl and priest from Mohenjodaro and a terracotta head from Kalibangan.<sup>3</sup> Stylistically it has an echo of Harappan art tradition.

#### 2. Terracotta Male Figurine (Acc. No. 207)

The figure (Pl. II) which is 8.00 cm. high has one arm akimpo, whereas the other one is missing. The lower portion is also broken. It is ill-fired as is evident from the black core of the broken arm. It is treated with a wash. The execution is extremely crude and primitive. The face which is 2.5 cms. long has only the idea of nose and mouth whereas eyes are quite worn out. The top is slightly broken. It is round at the back. The figure which is archaic in character has absolutely no detailed treatment and also lacks in the portrayal of the anatomical features.

Stylistically the figure, which is not of any high technical skill and also devoid of intricacies of the art, has no connection with the former example, although it bears some similarity in profile. Possibly the artist has followed the tradition of the grotesque figurines found at Mohenjodaro and other Harappan sites.

#### Discussion

262

The importance of these terracottas is, that, they have been reported from a region which is not in direct contact with Harappa culture. The eastern-most station of Harappa culture is Manpur in Bulandshahr District. Between Manpur and Shahabad, a number of stations of the ochre-coloured ware and copper-hoard objects have been noticed in the Districts of Etah, Itawa and Shahjahanpur. As Shahabad has yielded typical copper-hoard objects (now displayed in the National Museum) and also the ochre-coloured ware, it is not unlikely that the terracotta figurines in question may have been manufactured by these indigeneous people who came in contact

<sup>3.</sup> Indian Archaeology-A Review 1960-61, p. 32.

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PLATE II. Terracotta Figurines from Shahabad

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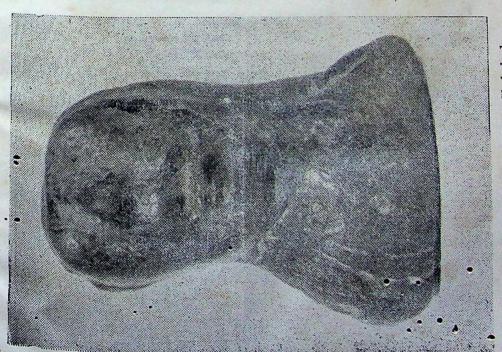


PLATE I. . Terracotta Figurines from Shahabad

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#### TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM SHAHABAD

with the Harappans of Sutlei-Yamuna region somewhere around the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. while moving towards upper Ganga-Yamuna doab.<sup>4</sup> In a recent excavation at Lal Qila,<sup>5</sup> Bulandshahr District, female terracotta figurines have been reported from the ochre-coloured ware horizon, whereas from Ambkheri,<sup>6</sup> Saharanpur District, only fragmentary animal figurines like humped bull were encountered. However, it is needless to say that the site requires a scientific digging for the confirmation of the above contact which in itself is a wellknown lacunae in Indian archaeology.

of the National Museum, No. 2, New Delhi, 1970, p. 28.

6. Indian Archaeology A Review, 1963-64, p. 56.

<sup>5.</sup> R. C. Gaur, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Private Communication. See also Indian Archaeology—A Review 1970-71 (in press).

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#### Hero Stones of Tamilnadu

BY

#### R. NAGASWAMY

A number of hero-stones, ranging from 4th century A.D. to the present time have been found all over Tamilnādu. Recently the Tamilnādu State Department of Archaeology has copied about sixty hero-stones from the Chengam Taluk of North Arcot District. They range from the 6th century A.D. to the 10th century A.D. The recent survey has thrown new light on the nature of these hero-stones. The hero-stones are called *Vīra kallu* in the Kannada country, but in Tamil literature, they are invariably called *Nadukal*.

The Tamil works, the Tolkāppiyam, the Puranānūru, and the Purapporul Venbāmālai, are the main works which throw valuable light on Nadukals. References are also met with in the Ahanānūru, the Aingurunūru, and the twin epics the Silappatikāram and the Manimēkhalai.

The Tamil classification of life into Aham and Puram are well-known. Since the external activities of man are dealt with in Puram, details regarding the erection of hero-stones are found in the chapter on *Purattinai* of Tolkappiyam.

## The Tinais and Cattle-lifting

Four broad rubries, namely cattle-lifting, fort, territorial expansion and enmity, are recognised as causes of war in Tamil literature, each having its offensive and defensive aspects. On each occasion, a particular flower garland is worn by the hero. These are called Vetci tinai, Karandai tinai etc. Besides the hero, the weapons, and war drums are also said to be adorned with the particular flowers (Nedunalvadai, line 176). The Tolkāppiyam deals with the erection of Nadukals immediately after the cattle-lifting operations, while the Purapporul Venbāmālai places it after dealing with all aspects of war.

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According to Tamil traditions, cattle-lifting is a defensive expedition. War generally is wrought with indiscriminate killing. It was therefore necessary to protect the weaker sections of the society, like children, women, old, Andanar and cattle. It is for this reason cattle were first removed to safety by the invader (Puram 9). When the cattle were thus lifted, it is an indication of the impending invasion. Ilampuranar, the calebrated commentator on Tolkāppiyam states that, it was a habit among people of hilly tract, (Kuruñji nilam) to steal the cattle of nearby countries.

#### When erected?

Nadukals were erected to commemorate the death of heroes in any aspect of battles. Nadukals were also erected for other heroic forms of death. The Chola king, Kopperuncola died by Vadakkiruttal i.e. fasting. A Nadukal was erected over his remains (Puram, 221). The chaste wife who committed Sati. (immolation) with the body of her husband was also honoured with a Nadukal. Nadukals were erected for those whose bodies were cremated. It is seen from the Purananuru, the bodies of most of the kings and Velir chieftains were cremated and Nadukals were erected to propitiate their souls. When Atiyaman Neduman Anji died in the battle, his body was cremated (Puram, 231) and a Nadukal was erected and bali offered to him (Puram, 232). The Purapporul Venbamālai, speaks of a particular turai called Pannattu. In this, the Panar are said to cremate the body of soldiers who died in the battlefield. Nadukals ought to have been erected for such soldiers as well. However it is not known whether Nadukals were erected for those whose bodies were interned in an urn burial. Most likely stones were erected on such occasions as well

#### Where?

As mentioned earlier, besides the literary references, the herosiones that have survived, are our main sources. The recent survey shows that Nadukals were erected, a little away from the residential areas. In almost all cases the Nadukals are found outside the residential parts of the villages. There are instances where two or three hero-stones are found in the same place devoted to



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Fig. 1. A hero stone relating to the death of two heroes in a battle in the reign of Simhavishnu, Koraiyaru, Dharmapuri District

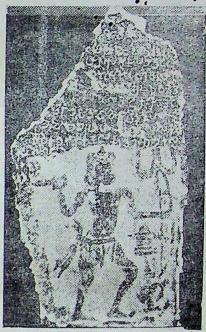


Fig. 2. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero during the reign of Mahendravarman, Se. Kudalur, North Arcot District

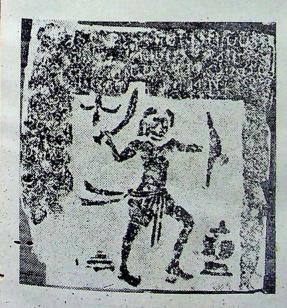


Fig. 2A. A hero stone relating to the death of a mero during the reign of Simhavishnu, Narasinganallur, North Arcot District



Fig. 3. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero during the reign of Kampavarman, Chinayyanpettai, North Arcot District

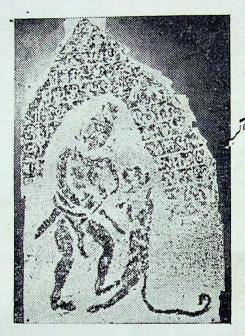


Fig. 4. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero while fighting with a tiger, Kilmuttugur



Fig. 5. நடுகல் (வேட்டுவன் கோயில்) வடிவுள்ளமங்கலம், கோவை மாவட்டம்

A dolmenoid hero stone of the reign of Rajendra Chola, Vadivullamangalam, Coimbatore District heroes who fell in the same battle. There are also instances where the figures of two heroes are portryed in one stone (Fig. 1), recording the death of them in the same battle. In some instances Na lukals relating to the reign of various kings and even various dynasties are found in the same place. For example at Sattanur, Nadukals relating to the reign of Pallava Mahendra, Narasimha and of the reign of Parantaka—Cola are found planted side by side. This suggests that the place served for erecting Nadukals like a cemetery, for few centuries. Nadukals are also found on the lake bunds (Fig. 2) in some cases. There are also instances when heroes fell in two different villages during the same battle and Nadukals were erected in the respective villages. There are some Nadukals in the interior forests, far away from any habitation (Fig. 2A). It is likely that these Nadukals were erected in the very same place where the heroes fell.

#### Names

These Nadukals continue to receive worship with great reverence even to this day. In most part they are called Vediyappan in North Arcot, Dharmapuri and Salem Districts. They are also called by other names as Vedarkoil, Kṛṣṇārappan, Mṛṇārappan and Sanniyāsiappan. In some places they are called Aiyyanārappan or Añjanēyar, an obvious confusion with these well-known deities. Besides the common name Vediyappan, they are also given some special names which suggest the reminiscence of heroism and their funerary associations. Thus in one case the Nadukal is referred to as Siraimīttān i.e., rescuer of captives and in another Sāxumettu vediyappan (Fig. 3) i.e., the deity of the death mound.

### The Nature of Nadukals

The Nadukals generally carry the figure of a hero—in most cases idealised—with a bow in one hand and arrow, sword or dagger in the other. In some cases the figure is shown carrying shield and a sword. Usually the heroes are shown wearing a short lower garment, and bare-bodied above. Some form of cap with a protruding knob at the top is seen on the head. In most cases two vessels, one in the form of spouted kundika and the other like that of a relic casket are portrayed on either side of the legs. In some,

mirror with a handle is also shown. Some Nadukals bear the figures of cattle relating to the encounter. Another common encounter seems to be with tigers. Two hero-stones have come to light wherein, while fighting a tiger the hero is said to have died (Fig. 4). In such cases, the figure of the hero is portrayed fighting with a tiger. The inscription giving the name and the details about the hero, the nature of the encounter in which he died and the name and regnal year of the ruler, are inscribed in the same face, above, below or on the sides of the figure. There are a number of stones which do not bear any figure or epigraph but are planted by the side of these Nadukals. Probably they also were Nadukals erected to fulfil the ritual needs of those who didn't have enough means. There are also a number of Nadukals bearing figures of heroes, but with no inscriptions. A number of hero-stones belonging to the Vijayanagar period (14th to 17th century A.D.) are found with the figure of the hero accompanied by one or more of his consorts, but without inscriptions. It is not known whether the consorts figured committed sati on the death of the hero. The Nadukals of the early period, 4th to 8th century, are figured in thin flat slabs of moderate height. The figures are cut in low relief but are shown in animated actions. Nadukals erected in the reign of Pallava Mahendravarman are singularly beautiful. The Nadukals of the later period are carved in thick slabs, the figures are in high relief, but are stiff, conventional and lack elegance.

#### Dolmenoid Nadukals

It is of interest to see that a majority of them are single slabs, standing erect. A few Nadukals have survived, in their original form. These in the form of dolmens consist of three upright slabs topped by a cap slab. The figure is portrayed at the back slab with the inscription. In one case inscription is also found on the side slab (Fig. 5). Such dolmenoid hero-stones suggest that originally all such Nadukals were erected as dolmens. This also fits in with the mode of erecting Nadukals as described in Tamil literature.

From the Tolkappiyam and Purapporul Venbamalai and other citations we understand the following process of erection.

The first stage, Kātci, is the selection of stone. The leader of the tribe accompanied by others goes to the nearby forest for making a selection of stone; invokes the god, burns incense, offers flowers and selects the stone. The second stage Kālkōl, is the removal of stone; flowers and water are sprinkled on the stone; incense is burned, the bell and parai are played; the stone is praised and then removed. The third stage Nirpadai, is placing it in water for some period to counter the effects of weathering due to sun's rays. It is praised, cleaned, anointed with fragrant liquids and either placed inside a pond or, a special tub. The fourth stage, is the erection of the Nadukal, the stone is garlanded, bell is rung, toddy is sprinkled, peacock's feather is tied, the hero's name and fame are inscribed and in the presence of all the stone is planted. In the fifth stage, Perumpadai, the dead hero is invoked in the stone and thenceforth considered a divine being. The sixth stage, Valtal is the erection of an abode of worship and offering to the weapons.

All these six parts are angas of the same Nadukal ceremony. It may be seen from the last stage called,  $V\bar{a}|tal$ , i.e., adoration in Tolkāppiyam, and il kondu puhudal in Purapporul venbāmālai, Nadukal had become temples of the dead and received worship. The erection of dolmenoid Nadukal, fulfils the need of a temple. In the case of some Cōla kings actual temples were erected where the kings' remains were interred and such temples were called Pallippadai

#### Worship and beliefs

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As mentioned earlier, these Nadukals, receive regular worship even to this day. Annual festivals are held with great pomp. In front of the stone, swords and tridents are planted. They are also anointed, garlanded and offered worship. The worship of these weapons is mentioned in early literature as well. The Purapporul venbāmālai (Verse 253) refers to the offering of food to the sword of Nadukal.

Besides these weapons, huge terracotta horses are placed in front of them. Terracotta figures of cattle, men, women and children are also placed in front. These votive offerings are placed in fulfilment of their vows and prayers. Animal sacrifice particularly that of ram and cock are also offered during annual

festivals. Offering of liquor, to the Nadukals is an ancient custom mentioned in Sangam literature. Avvai speaks of the offering of liquor to the Nadukal of Atiyamān Nedumān Añji (Puram, 232). The representation of spouted kundika in all the Nadukals, probably had some connection with this rite.

An important belief among the people is that, the worship of Nadukals, brings forth rains and fertility to the soil and prosperity to the clan and people. Even now, the local people offer special worship to these Nadukals, when rain fails, or in times of drought. This belief again seems to have been held from hoary past. A verse (263) in Puram refers to this belief. In the epic, Silappatikāram, the Kuravar of the hilly region, exhorted their folkmen to worship Pattini, (who ascended heaven) so that there may be plenty of rain and fertility.

The reverence with which these Nadukals are worshipped, even to-day bespeaks of this great tradiiton.

## Naga Hills Boundary Disputes (1842-1872)

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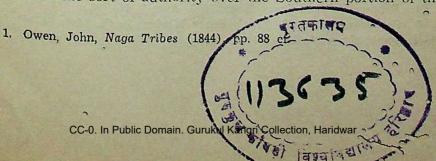
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BY

#### S. K. BARPUJARI

Ever since the birth of Nagaland in December, 1963, roughly a 200-mile stretch of boundary has become the bone of contention between this state and Assam. Despite negotiations at different levels, the boundary question between the two is yet to be settled. In the meanwhile, charges and counter-charges of aggression and encroachments hurled by the one against the other has been straining the relations between them. The dispute arises out of the conflicting interpretations of the 1925 notification which defined the southern boundary between Assam and the Naga Hills District which was then a part of the province of Assam. Assam Government accepts the notification as unambiguous, but Nagaland considers this as imaginary. The latter wants New Delhi to anpoint a Boundary Commission to go into the whole question. The Government of Assam, on the other hand, is opposed to it; in its opinion the boundary between the two states had been clearly defined by the notification referred to above.

On the resumption of Upper Assam from ex-Raja Purandar Singh in 1838, the British Government inherited a legacy of hostile relationship with the Eastern Nagas who inhabited the hills south of the district of Sibsagar. Nevertheless, the British Indian Government succeeded in winning over these Nagas by abolishing the heavy duties on salt and illegal extortions made by the former Government. On the other side of the frontier, the annexation of Cachar in 1832, brought the British into close proximity of the Angami, the most warlike of the Western Nagas. This was soon followed by Angami incursions into villages held by British and Manipur Governments, disturbing thereby the peace and security of the North East Frontier. The task of controlling the Angamis was at first left to Manipur, which was then supposed to have exercised some sort of authority over the Southern portion of the



Naga Hills.<sup>2</sup> Manipur failed in its task; thereupon, in 1839-40 expeditions had to be sent against the raiders. For two years the Angamis suspended their raids into British territories, but continued to harry the villages under Manipur's jurisdiction,3

For the protection of the Manipuris, Captain Gordon, political Agent in Manipur proposed the assumption of direct management of the Angami Hills. To implement the same, he suggested the construction of a military-road through the hills with a line of posts all along its strategic points and the gradual subjugation of the Angamis living on both sides of the road in the course of its undertaking.4 The proposal did not find favour with Lieutenant Bigge, Principal Assistant, Nowgong who thought that the root cause of aggressions was the boundary disputes between the Angamis and the Manipuris, and that the same should be settled peacefully by a mission specially deputed for the purpose. The Government of India being averse to coercive measures readily accorded their approval to the proposal. Later in his successful 'peace mission', Bigge met several Angami Chiefs who entered into agreement with him promising to recognise the river Dhansiri as the boundary between their hills and the British territory and assured not to violate it except for friendly intercourse with the people of the plains.

In the cold season of 1842, Bigge met Gordon at Manipur and after careful consideration jointly reported:

We are of opinion that commencing from the upper part of the Jeree river, the Western frontier of Munnipore, the line of boundary formed firstly by the Dootighor mountain or that range of hills in which the Mookroo river takes its rise east on to the Barak river upto where it is joined by the Typhanee river, which flows along the eastern base of the Papolongmai hill; thirdly by the Typhanee river, upto its source in the Barail range of mountains; and fourthly by the summit or water-pent of the Barail range on to the source of the Mow

<sup>2.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1835, Nov. 17, No. 48.

<sup>3.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 1840, 'May 25, No. 118.

<sup>4.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 1840, Aug. 3, No. 93.

<sup>5.</sup> See Barpejari, S. K., "Early Peace Missions in the Naga Hills", (vide Proceedings volume, Indian History Congress, 1969, Varanasi, p. 369).

river, flowing north from that point towards Assam, ......... is the best boundary between Munnipore and the Angami country.6

Hitherto, the great central ridge or 'water-pent' formed 'the generally received line of boundary seperating Assam from Munnipore.' Bigge and Gordon's line defined only the Western and North-western boundaries of Manipur excluding from it the Angami country proper, but including the Maos 'allied to the Angamis by race and customs'. This virtually seperated all the Angamis from the Naga clans in obedience to Manipur and its Raja had lost control or authority North of the new line. Bigge and Gordon's boundary was confirmed by the Government of India, but instructions actually issued to the political Agent in Manipur, were not known. Subsequent events, however, showed that neither the Government of India took the settlement seriously, nor did the Raja of Manipur ever accept it."

To the utter disappointment of the Government, Bigge and Gordon's line did not put a stop to Angami raids into the territories held by the British and Manipur. As a matter of fact, until 1850, as many as eight expeditions had to be sent out against them, but none was attended with success. Being 'utterly sick of Naga affairs', at last in 1851, the Government of India decided on a policy of absolute non-interference in regard to the Nagas.<sup>8</sup> British troops were withdrawn from the hills and to protect its possessions an English officer was deputed to Asaloo in North Cachar (1853). During this period, the Manipuris being not satisfied with the boundary settlement not only encouraged but directly helped the pro-Manipuri Nagas against the British. Such intrigue and active interference on their part adversely affected the British position in the Angami Hills.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 1842, Jan. 24, No. 71.

<sup>7.</sup> In reply to an order of the Government asking the Political Agent, Manipur and the Principal Assistant, Nowgong to undertake annual visits to the Angami Hills, the former official wrote "in the absence of a post at Papolongami, and in the absence of an intermediate post between that place and Munipore, and while no settlement of boundary has been made with the Munipore Government, I forsee obstacles in the way of a British officer paying visits to the Angami country from Munipore".

Foreign Political Proceedings, 1851, Feb.7, No. 206.
 Foreign Political Proceedings, 1851, June 13, No. 110.

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The experiment of non-interference simply resulted in repeated Angami raids even into British territories and this called for definite action. Accordingly in 1866, the formation of a new district with headquarters at Samaguting was announced by the Government of India and Lieutenant John Gregory took charge of it as Deputy Commissioner. The district comprised of that part of Nowgong lying on the right bank of the Dhansiri, the Naga Hills and the country lying on both banks of the river Doyang. Its southern boundary was defined to run along the crest of the Barail range, from the sources of the Rengma or Doyang river to the small Western feeder of the sources of the Dhansiri river. 10

From the middle of the last century, European speculators had taken more interest in tea-plantation and exploitation of minerals and forest products in Upper Assam extending to the foot of the Naga Hills. As a result a good number of tea-gardens had sprung up in the area south of Ladoigarh, which was supposed to be the boundary between Naga Hills and Sibsagar District. An official report of 1871 states that there existed five grants south of the Ladoigarh and of the Athkhel and Geleki mouzahs, and also a cluster of gardens at the point of intersection of the Ladoigarh with the Dhodur Ali which ran along the whole length of the Sibsagar District. The planters who opened their gardens in these areas entered into agreements of different nature with the Naga chiefs under the firm belief that the lands belonged to the latter and not to the Government.

Consequent upon the rapid extension of tea-plantations into the areas claimed by the Nagas as their own and to the reluctance of the local authorities 'to recognise any frontier between the settled districts and the lands of the independent Nagas' the relation between the Nagas and the planters vis-a-vis the Government of India took a different turn. In 1864, Mr. Vanquilin, a planter in the Sibsagar district had a dispute with a Naga chief regarding a salt-spring situated in the country of the Joboka Nagas. With reference to this case Colonel Hopkinson, Commissioner of Assam,

<sup>10.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1866, Oct. 29, Nos. 61-2.

<sup>11.</sup> The Ahom Kings had raised an earthen embankment "Ladoigurh" at the foot hills of the Naga areas to prevent raids by the Naga tribes into the plains.

<sup>12.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Sept. Nos. 31-45.

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#### NAGA HILLS BOUNDARY DISPUTES

held the view that the southern boundary of Assam Rad always been held to be coterminous with the northern boundaries of Burma and Manipur along the centre of the Patkai range of hills. The tribes bordering Lakhimpur and Sibsagar Districts were within British boundaries, but the Government did not exact any revenue from them. Apprehending troubles, in view of planters taking lands from the Nagas by paying revenue to them, the Commissioner urged the Government to issue orders as to whether a formally demarcated Naga boundary should be recognised or whether the Patkai range should be preserved as the Southern boundary of Assam. He further stressed the necessity of proper demarcation of the boundary after regular survey and that acquisition of lands by settlers, European or native, should not be allowed on the Naga side of it.<sup>13</sup>

Frequent disputes also arose between the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills and the Government of Manipur regarding some villages situated east of the Rengma and north of the Barail range. Manipur administration contended that the assertion of the Bigge and Gordon line had prevented it from protecting its own subjects but the Nagas were left free to raid villages under Manipur at will. In February, 1867, in reply to a query, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal informed Colonel McCulloch, Political Agent, Manipur that 'in as much as a British Officer has now assumed direct administration of the Angami Naga Hills, all differences and disputes between the subjects of Munnipore and the Angami Nagas residing within our territories, should be referred to the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, and that Munnipoorees should be restrained from making incursions into any part of the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner'. 'Any outrage committed in Munnipore by Nagas from our side of the frontier', he added "should be reported at once to the Deputy Commissioner, who in concert with Munnipore Government, and the political Agent at Munnipore would take steps to punish the offenders".14 The Lieutenant Governor further desired that Lt. Gregory and Dr. Brown (Political Agent, Manipur) should meet early and settle the boundary of that state with the Naga Hills, the former officer representing the Nagas.

14. Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see the Assam policy).

<sup>13.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see disputes between planters and Nagas).

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Towards the close of 1867, an outrage was committed by some Nagas on the Geleki guard-house and this was followed in March 1869 by the abduction of three labourers of the towkok tea-garden. These were considered by the Deputy Commissioners concerned as mere acts of reprisals by the Nagas for encroachment of their boundary. On receipt of these reports, the Lieutenant Governor directed the Commissioner of Assam to specifically state what were the practically recognised limits of the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar towards the Naga frontier. Captain Campbell, Deputy Commissioner, Sibsagar was not definite as to the limits of his civil and criminal jurisdiction, admitting, however, that tea-grants had been made south of the Ladoigurh Road. He brought home to the Government of Bengal the necessity of making definite arrangements regarding the boundary between his district and Naga Hills. 15

In September, 1869, the Government of Bengal deputed Captain Butler who had in the meantime succeeded Gregory as Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, to meet Dr. Brown, Political Agent in Manipur for settling the Naga Hills-Manipur boundary question. Both these officers were instructed to confine themselves to clearly ascertaining and pointing out the Bigge and Gordon line and "to guard against the introduction of disturbing causes such as Munnipore Government has always proved to be on that frontier". On the question of proper boundary between Assam and the Angami Nagas on one side and Manipur on the other, the Government of Bengal observed:

It is really so far as the Government is concerned a matter of no importance where the boundary should run except on the one cardinal point of having the best boundary which circumstances will allow, with a view to the defence and security of the Assam border. Bearing this important matter in mind, the more the British Government restrict themselves to the plains, and leave the Angami Nagas to themselves, the better.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see Disputes between Planters and Nagas).

<sup>16.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see The Boundary Dispute).

#### NAGA HILLS BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The recrudescence of dispute convinced the Government of India the inexpediency of allowing extension of tea-gardens beyond the recognised limits of British jurisdiction. In August 1869, Hopkinson was directed not to make any new grants south of the Ladoigarh road. pending final orders of the Government. prohibition was soon extended to lands in any part of Assam beyond the limits of the recognised revenue jurisdiction.17 Notwithstanding this, when the disputes between planters and the Eastern Nagas on so-called encroachments continued, the Government of India became convinced of the necessity of demarcating the boundaries of the two districts. In September, 1869, it was proposed to send a topographical survey party to the entire frontier, both north-east in Assam as well as east in Manipur. In view of the probable risks and difficulties attending the operations, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal recommended merely "a reconnoissance" instead of a full-scale survey of the areas concerned. 18 When it was later made known that some teagrants had been made outside the limits of the revenue settlement of Sibsagar inspite of the standing orders of the Government of India, the Commissioner was directed in September 1870 that instead of confining the survey strictly to the limits of the revenue paying mouzas it might be so far extended to take in any grants south of the Ladoigarh care being taken to avoid raising the suspicion of the Nagas. It was also suggested that any claim made by the Nagas to these lands might be bought up by paying moderate compensations.19

In pursuance of the orders of the Govt. of India, Butler and Brown commenced their survey of the Naga Hills-Manipur boundary as laid down by Bigge and Gordon in 1842. They found no difficulty in identifying it until they reached its extreme eastern end which Bigge and Gordon described as the Barail range as far as the source of the Mow river. Butler identified Sijoo with Nrow; Brown was also emphatic in saying that the only Mow in existence was the western branch called Zullo by Butler. If Butler's views were to be accepted then several villages over which

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<sup>17.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1869, Oct. No. 73; Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1869, Nov. No. 138

<sup>18.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1869.

<sup>19.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 1873, July, No. 469.

Manipur had been exercising control would have to be included in the Naga Hills District. Although the two officers were partly successful in tracing the Bigge-Gordon line, they could not come to any definite agreement. Consequently in November 1870, the Government of India appointed a Boundary Commissioner in the person of J.F. Browne, Civil and sessions Judge of Chittagong whose decision in the matter would be final. He was directed firstly to determine the actual boundary line as laid down by Bigge and Gordon. Secondly, if for political and other reasons, he considered that the line should be deviated from, and that Naga villages which were excluded from Manipur in 1842, should now be included within that state, he should indicate on the survey map how the boundary of 1842 would have to be deviated upon. The Government of Bengal directed the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills and Political Agent, Manipur to accompany the Boundary Commissioner and furnish him with all relevant papers and necessary information.20

Browne (Boundary Commissioner) found that the main question at issue between Manipur and the Government of India was the recognition or otherwise of the claim now made by Manipur to extend its jurisdiction not only to the north of 1842 line, but to the east and north-east of its terminal point and across the natural boundary of Assam towards the settled district of Sibsagar. He rejected the claim of Manipur to a group of five villages north of the Sijoo, known as Sopvomah, and proposed to take them from Manipur in lieu of a compensation of Rs. 400 per annum which being the revenue derived by that state from these villages.<sup>21</sup> After long-drawn arguments and counter-arguments Browne settled the disputed boundary between Manipur and Naga Hills

In the new settlement, the line of 1842 was maintained in all essentials so far as it was identified. A few villages on the dividing range of the water-pent over which Manipur has acquired sugremacy were demarcated as belonging to that state; and from the termination of the line of 1842 at a point called the Telizo peak eastward of the water-shed of the main line of hills which divide the affluents of the Brahmaputra from that of the Irrawady as far

<sup>20.</sup> Benga! Judicial Proceedings, Nov. No. 192.

<sup>21.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Sept., (Vol. 186, see Boundary Disputes).

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as the Patkai pass was declared to be the limit of Manipur on its northern frontier. The Naga Hills District was advanced to march with the boundary of Manipur as now determined The Kuki colonies lying between the Naga Hills and Manipur were brought under jurisdiction of the former district.<sup>22</sup> This settlement deprived Manipur of a considerable part of the hills which had been actually under its control. Manipur objected to the settlement but these were overruled by the Government of India.

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In March 1871, following a quarrel between Mr. Eades, a teaplanter and the Changoni Nagas, the boundary question again came to the forefront. Campbell (D. C. Sibsagar) urged the Government to define the boundary of his district and to specify distinctly what Government would protect and what it would not. Hopkinson, opposed as he was to the notion of a fixed boundary rejected the proposal. He favoured a military or effective occupation of Naga territory as well as of the Naga Hills District. In other words, he desired to bring all the territories not included in Bhutan, Manipur or Burma directly under British subjection.23 Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal expressed the view that the whole of the Naga Hills so far as known might be considered as British territory subject to British control. But he considered it inexpedient for the present to introduce its jurisdiction into any semi–independent Naga territories wherein he wanted to exercise only political control which would succeed in keeping peace in the country between Manipur and Assam and in settling Sibsagar frontier.24

Soon afterwards, a massacre perpetrated upon a party of Borlangee Nagas by the Kamsingia tribe within two miles of a teaestate convinced Sir George Campbell that time had come for laying down the boundary to determine British jurisdiction in Sibsagar as well as in the other districts of Assam. He desired that the same should be laid down on the principles to be applied to the north of Kamrup or in the mode of demarcating to be pursued along the line of Tibetan, Bhutia, Aka and Dafala fron-

<sup>22.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1872, July, No. 243.

<sup>23.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, (Vol. 186, see Disputes between Planters and Nagas).

<sup>24.</sup> Bengal Judicial Proceedings, 1871, Oct., No. 207.

tier; and with reference to any specially valuable forests, Indiarubber, opium lands, or other lands which for sufficient cogent reasons it might be desirable to include within the line of ordinary civil jurisdiction.25 Already occupation of tribal lands for teaplantation and exploitation of mines, and forests for elephants and India-rubber led to serious complications with the Nagas and other hill tribes. To prohibit the entry of strangers to tracts where adequate control could not be exercised, the Government of India enacted the Innerline Regulations in 1873.26 The Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar was instructed not to allow European planters or businessmen to accept any grant beyond the innerline or under a tenure from any chief or tribe. Beyond this line, the tribes were left to manage their own affairs with only such interference on the part of the frontier officers in their political capacity as might be desirable with a view of establishing a personal influence for good among the chiefs or the tribes.27

From what has been discussed above, it will be evident that the boundary disputes of the Naga Hills remained un-settled till 1874 when Assam was formed into a separate province and the administration of the Nagas came under the direct responsibility of the newly appointed Chief Commissioner. One should also take note of the growing tendency on the part of the local authorities of refusing to recognise any boundary between the Nagas and the settled districts of the plains, while pursuing at the same time more or less a hard and fast boundary between Manipur and the Naga Hills. The Inner line indicated in no way the territorial frontier, but only the limits of the administered areas, nor did it decide the sovereignty of the territories beyond. It set at rest the attempt of the local authorities to bring the country between the settled districts of British India and Burma under direct administration. Subsequent history showed that even this line was made to move according to the convenience or otherwise of the local authorities. No wonder, therefore, boundary disputes between Naga Hills and adjoining territories continued with occasional breaks till our own times.

<sup>25.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 1873, July, No. 469.

<sup>26.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 1872, Feb., No. 131, Account of the rovince of Assam, Shillong, 1903, p. 156.

### Execution of Guru Arjan

BY

#### BAKHSHISH SINGH NIJJAR

Execution of the 5th Sikh Guru Arjan Dev (1563–1605 A.D.) has gathered much controversy among the scholars of Panjab History. One group among them is of the opinion that Guru Arjan Dev was ordered by the emperor Jahangir to be executed on account of his increasing religious influence amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. Therefore, he was for years thinking of either putting an end to his religious preachings, which the emperor contemptuously called "false traffic", or making Musalman of him.

The other group does not agree with this opinion and it says that the execution of Guru Arjan was purely a political one. This group holds the view that the Guru helped the rebel Prince, against the monarch of the time and thus the Guru could not escape from the wrath of the king, who awarded condign punishments to all the political offenders. However, a detailed study of the facts and circumstances can throw light on the whole episode.

#### Circumstances Leading to the Execution

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Prince Khusrau was the eldest son of Jahangir, born to his queen Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber, on August 6, 1587 The Prince was a young boy of seventeen years, of eminently handsome countenance, agreeable manners and irreproachable character at the death of his grand-father, Akbar, who had directed his training himself. At one time, Akbar had nominated him as his successor, which created a deep jealousy between Jahangir and his son Khusrau. After the death of Akbar, the crevice of jealousy had all the more widened between the father and the son. Mirza Aziż Koka, the most powerful noble of Akbar's Darbar, had married his daughter to Khusrau, and had every reason to long for Khusrau's accession to the throne, after Akbar. Khusrau himself was no less desirous of the throne.

Apprehending all these consequences, Jahangir imprisoned Khusrau in the fort of Agra.

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Joannes De Laet, the Flemish Geographer, a contemporary traveller, has narrated the incident in these words:—

"In the year 1605 A.D., the first year of Jahangir, the king being in doubt concerning the loyalty of his son Khusrau asked the most prominent of the Umera, Mirza Sharif Khan¹ for advice as to what he should do with his son. Mirza advised the king to put the Prince's eyes out. The king hesitated and delayed, where upon Khusrau, who had taken alarm and had gained some inkling of what was intended, plotted to escape and wrote to his old friend, Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi. Akbar had appointed Hasan Beg, as the Governor of Kabul. The fort of Rohtas was also in his fief. Thus Hasan Beg had a strong hold over the north-west frontier province of India. Khusrau sent a message to expedite his return and come to Khusrau's assistance with all the troops he could gather; for he himself was planning secretly to leave Agra with the most faithful and brave of his followers, and to repair to Lahore."

Hasan Beg Badakhshi, in accordance with the Prince's request, hastened to meet him (from Kabul) as rapidly as possible. When he had reached Akbarpur, only 24 Kos from Agra, the Prince, who had been informed of his approach, stole out of the fort of Agra at evening time with a body of picked troops. The Kotwal and commander of the imperial guard, whose name was Khwaja Malik Ali² had not yet left the guard house, but did not dare to stop the Prince. The fugitives extinguished the lights wherever they went, looted a few shops, and then left the city as swiftly as possible. Khusrau paid his respects on the way to the tomb of his grand-father (Akbar), and at dawn arrived in Akbarbur with 500 troops, mostly mere lads. Hasan Beg was awaiting him there with about 3000 cavalry. Khusarau proceeded with these as quickly as possible to Lahore.

On learning of the Prince's flight the King ordered the Kotwal Khwaja Malik Ali to give chase with the cavalry under his com-

<sup>1.</sup> The Grand Wazir.

<sup>2.</sup> The Kotwal was I'timad Khan. When Shaikh Farid was sent in pursuit of the Prince, the Kotwal was made scout and intelligence officer.

mand. He started at dead of night with 300 men. The same night Murtaza Khan was despatched in support with 1500 cavalry. By the advice of Mirza Amir Ali, the King himself followed at dawn with the swiftest elephants and several Amirs. In order to expedite his march he took no baggage at all.

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The Prince was at the most 10 Kos ahead of Khwaja, 10 or 12 Kos more ahead of Murtaza Khan, and about as much again ahead of Jahangir. He looted all the villages on the way, carried off the royal horses from the post-stations, and compelled all the travellers and traders whom he met on the road to accompany him. Having in this fashion collected by no means contemptible a force, Khusrau reached Lahore on the ninth day of his flight. However, Ibrahim Khan, a Pathan, whom the King had shortly before despatched to Lahore, with the authority of governor, hearing of the Prince's flight, prepared with the utmost speed to intercept him, and fortified the citadel of Lahore against him.

Another unforeseen mischance happened to the fugitive. Said Khan³ on his way to Kashmir, had just encamped with his force only three Kos from the city. The Prince invited him in a friendly fashion to join hands with himself, but Said Khan, did not at first reject the proposal. However, on reaching the bank of the river Ravi in company with the Prince's soldiers he cleverly gave them the slip, and caused his boatmen to land him at the fort. Meanwhile, Mir Jamalu-d-din Hussain, whom the king had sent ahead to catch up with Khusrau, announced to the Prince that the King had handed over to him Kabul and Bangash, and bade him, leave Lahore and repair to those provinces. However, Khusrau demanded for himself the whole district of Sirhind and laid seige to Lahore.

Eight days later, on learning that the King had crossed the river Beas which flows by Sultanpur and that Murtaza Khan was about to cross the river Nakodar, Khusrau resolved to risk a battle, collected all his stragglers, and advanced against his father's army with 20,000 cavalry. After marching 30 Kos he came face to face with Murtaza Khan, who on learning of the Prince's advance had

<sup>3.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. 1, Rogers & Beveridge, p. 62.

drawn up his forces to oppose him. The weather was rainy, and a storm was raging.

The battle began, with a skirmish between the Prince's troops and the royal cavalry, which scarcely numbered 300. The latter were caught as if in a net. Saiyad Jalal, their commander, was killed, and they were being rapidly driven off the field when Khwaja Malik Ali came up in the nick of time, with the main body of the royal army. He cried out that the King himself was close at hand, and thus inspired his own men and at the same time dismayed those of the Prince that Abdul Rahim flung away the Prince's standard. On this Khusrau's troops, imagining that their master had been killed, were so terrified that they took to flight, and dispersed in all directions. Many were killed or captured by the peasants for the sake of their horses and camels. The rest of the spoil came into the hands of royal forces, who thus gained a notable victory.

When the King came up, he named the place of the battle Fatehpur.<sup>4</sup> The Prince fled to Lahore with Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi, and Abdul Rahim. The last named stayed back but the Prince crossed the Ravi with Badakhshi on his way to the fortress of Rohtas. He succeeded in reaching the river Chenab and entered a boat to cross it. However, the boatmen had received instructions from the sons of Qasim Khan Namkin who were in command of the garrison of Rohtas. They ran the boat upon a sand bank in the middle of the river, and leaving the Prince swam away to the bank. Thus the poor wretch, together with Hasan Beg Khan, was captured by the Kings' forces, and was conducted to the King, who had already crossed the river Ravi, the river of Lahore.

On his return with his captives to Lahore where Abdul Rahim had also been discovered and dragged from his hiding place, the King ordered the peasants to cut down the trees and to fix sharp stakes on either side of the road.

<sup>4.</sup> Fatehpur. The place was called Bhairowal. It was bestowed to Shaikh Farid who was henceforth to be styled Murtaza Khan. Farid named it Faridabad. Bhairowal is on the right bank of the Beas on the road from Juliundur to Amritsar.

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Jahangir, who had established himself in Mirza Kamran's garden at Lahore,5 was delighted at the tidings and despatched Sharif to fetch the captives. On May 1, the latter were brought to the city. The populace and the court alike were deeply stirred and waited in anxious suspense to know the fate reserved for the Prince. Jahangir himself was over-whelmed with sorrow and retired to a private room to weep out his feelings. He burst into tears at the thought of the strife within his family. Then becoming recollected he convened a darbar. The officers and courtiers stationed themselves, each in his place with the gentry and the commonalty at a distance. The emperor remained seafed on the throne. They ushered in Prince Khusrau, handcuffed and enchained, trembling and weeping, with Hasan Beg on his right and Abdur Rahim on his left. The scene melted the hearts of all. Khusrau attempted to prostrate himself before His Majesty, but was sternly told to stand in his place. Hasan Beg attempted to clear himself but was commanded to keep silent. Jahangir bitterly reproached Khusrau and ordered him into confinement.6

Barbarous punishments were meted out to the Prince's followers. Hasan Beg was sewn in the fresh skin of an ox, with horns obtruding and Abdul Rahim in that of an ass. Seated on the asses with their faces turned towards the tail, they were paraded through the streets of Lahore. Hasan Beg was suffocated to death within twelve hours, but Abdur Rahim's situation was stealthily eased by his powerful courtier-friends. After an intense suffering of twenty-four hours he was pardoned and restored to his old dignities.7 A few days later a long line of gibbets appeared on each side of the road leading from Mirza Kamran's garden to the city of Lahore. On each gibbet appeared a prisoner impaled on the stake, writhing in agony. To complete the tale of barbarity, Prince Khusrau was led on an elephant through the ranks and was asked, in inhuman mockery, to receive the homage of his followers. The Prince's gentle soul was pierced with grief, sharp

<sup>5.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 68; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Mutamid Khan, p. 13; Maasir-ul-Umera, Shah Nawaz Khan, p. 524.

<sup>6.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 68; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Mutamid Khan, p. 16.; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I, Khafi Khan, p. 253.

<sup>7.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, pp. 68-69; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, Mutamid Khan, p. 253.

and well-neigh unbearable. He passed several days weeping in anguish.

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Milder punishments were inflicted on two of his followers who had, taking advantage of his revolt plundered the people of Lahore. Amba was let off with a fine of Rs. 15,000, which was distributed in charity, while his associate Raju was put to death.8

### Causes of Jahangir's Displeasure

It was under these circumstances, that Khusrau Guru Arjan at Goindwal, on the way to Lahore. whole dispute on the execution of Guru Arjan arose on the basis of his rebel son Khusrau's meeting with the Guru. Historians are almost unanimous in their view that the rebel Prince was blessed, financially helped and treated kindly by the Guru. About the monetary help, Jahangir himself wrote: "At last when Khusrau passed along this road, this insignificant low fellow made up his mind to wait upon him. Khusrau happened to halt at the place where he was. He (Arjan) came and saw, and conveyed some preconceived things to him and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which in Hindu terminology is called Qashqa (Tika) and is considered propitious. this reached my ears, and I fully know his heresies, I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, dwelling places and children to Murtaza Khan and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures".9

The author of Dābistān-i-Mazāhib, a contemporary of Guru Har Gobind, writes: "His Majesty the late Nur-ud-Din Mohammad Jahangir, after the arrest of Khusrau, arrested and fined Guru Arjan Mal for the reason that he had prayed for the welfare of Prince Khusrau, the late Emperor's (Jahangir) son, who had rebelled against the father". <sup>10</sup> Gyani Gyan Singh writes: "Guru Arjan gave one lac of rupees and also made on his forehead

<sup>8.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, pp. 69, 73; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I,

<sup>9.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 72.
10. Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Mulisini-Fani, p.

## EXECUTION OF GURU ARJAN

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a finger mark in saffron, a symbol of sovereignty". These views have further been corroborated by Bhai Santokh Singh: "Guru Arjan gave five lacs of Rupees as monetary assistance to Prince Khusrau". Pinch, a contemporary European traveller, wrote that the Guru gave three thousand ducats as monetary help to the rebel Prince. According to Mehma Parkash, "Chandu Shah accused the Guru that he helped Khusrau, with money". "Guru Arjan financially helped Khusrau" writes Ganesh Das Wadhera. "This was clearly not a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary punishment of a political offender". 15

However, along with all the above-mentioned views we shall take into consideration Jahangir's own statement which he recorded in his Memoirs. "In Goindwal, which is situated on the bank of the river Biyah (Beas), there was a Hindu named Arjun, in the garb of a Pir or Shaikh, so much so that having captivated many simple-hearted Hindus, nay even foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and manners, he had poised himself about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him Guru, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic or he should be brought into the fold of Islam." 16

According to G. C. Narang, Jahangir himself accuses Guru Arien as a political offender: "Jahangir summoning the Guru before him, is represented as saying, "Thou art a great saint, a great teacher and holy man, thou lookest on rich and poor alike.' It was, therefore, not proper for thee to give money to my enemy, Khusrau."

Keeping in view the divergent views expressed, it might be stated that during Prince Khusrau's flight through the Panjab, he

- 11. Panth Parkash, Gyani Gyan Singh, p. 96.
- 12. Gur Partap Suraj Granth, Ras 4, Ank 29. Santokh Singh p. 2343.
- 13. Mehma Parkash, Sarup Das Bhalla, MS/792, p. 472.
- 14. Char Bhag-i-Punjab, Ganesh Das Wadhera, p. 107.
- 15. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III; Jadunath Sarkar, p. 309.
- 16. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Niwal Kishore Press. p. 35.
- 17. Transformation of Sikhism, G. C. Narang, pp. 31-41.

met the Guru on the way at Goindwal who congratulated him, put a saffron mark on his forehead, and gave him his blessings and financial help. One author has gone to the extent of saying that the Guru gave fighting men also.

Contemporary as well as the later historians have categorically stated that the Guru helped the rebel Prince. It seems to me that Jahangir wrote these lines, "I should put an end to this false traffic or he (Arjan) should be brought into the fold of Islam," in a fit of anger, when the enemies of the Guru, out of their malice brought forth so many false and baseless reports. Guru Arjan Dev was to pay a heavy fine of two lacs of rupees; in case of his failure to comply with it, he should be tortured to death. Jahangir did not bother at all to stop the false traffic of "a Hindu shop." He never put any more Hindus to death on account of religious fanaticism. Jahangir lived 22 years more after this incident but we do not hear any instance where he persecuted the Hindus in this manner.

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Guru Hargobind, son of the martyred Guru, was a close friend of Jahangir, who went about with a personal guard of sixty matchlock men and a mounted troop of three hundred horsemen in attendance. He founded Akal Takht at Amritsar, the future seat of the Sikh sovereignty. The sixth Guru had issued an encyclical letter to the Masands to the effect that he would be pleased with those of his followers who would in future bring offerings of arms and horses instead of money. His retinue included a number of drummers, dogs of the finest breed, and some tame leopards. A regular cantonment was established during Jahangir's reign at Amritsar, but the Mughal emperor never thought of "closing the shop" of the Hindu religion.

<sup>18.</sup> Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, pp. 52-59; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text. pp. 9, 10; History of India, Vol. VI, Elliot & Dowson, p. 448.

## Some Epithets of Brahmana Donees in South Indian Charters

BY

#### D. C. SIRCAR

The expression grhita-sähasra is some times found in South Indian records in the description of the Brahmana donees of copperplate charters. In the Bandora (Goa) plates of the 29th regnal year of the Maurya king Anirjitavarman (6th or 7th century A.D.) the donee of the grant, the Brahmana Hastyarya of the Haritagotra, is described as grhīta-sāhasra which was explained by Dr. G. S. Gai, the editor of the epigraph, as 'a person learned in the Sāmaveda which is supposed to have a thousand branches'. While entering the word in our Indian Epigraphical Glossary,2 we did not consider the above interpretation satisfactory and thought that the correct meaning of the expression may be 'one from whom one thousand coins have been realised' at the time of creating the rent-free holding in his favour. It should, however, be admitted that the amount often realised by the State for the creation of a rent-free holding was very rarely mentioned in clear forms in ancient Indian documents.3. In any case, we have recently come across evidence which suggests a different meaning of the epithet.

The Marutura grant,<sup>4</sup> which was probably discovered in the old Hyderabad State, was issued in the 8th regnal year of the Cālukya king Satyāśraya Pṛthvīvallabha-mahārāja (Pulakeśin II, c. 610–42 A.D.). The grant was made in favour of the following Brāhmaṇas: (1–2) Jyeṣṭhakoṇḍa and Bhīmasvāmin who belonged to the Vāsiṣṭha-gotra and were experts in all the four Vedas (Caturvedavid), (3–4) Jannasvāmin and [Pa]ṇḍaraṅgasvāmin

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<sup>1.</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>2.</sup> Op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>3.</sup> See Sircar, Ind. Ep., pp. 115 ff.

<sup>4.</sup> Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, Hydorabad, No. 6, pp. 11-39; P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume, Dharwar, 1971, pp. 63 ff.

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of the Bharadvaja-gotra, who were also experts in the four Vedas, (5-7) Divākarasvāmin of the Gautama-gotra, Bhonusvāmin of the Agniveśya-gotra and Revasvāmin of the Kāśyapa-gotra, all of them described as Aśīti-tarkaka, (8) Jannasvāmin of the Ehāradvājagotra, described as Grhīta-sāhasra, (9-10) Ādityasvāmin of the Kauśika-gotra and Vișnusvāmin of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, both described as Sahasra-tarkaka, (11) .... svāmin of Vāsiṣṭha-gotra, and (12) Gopasvāmin of the Kāśyapa-gotra, called Varna-trayanivṛtta. While editing the Marutura grant, Dr. S. Sankaranarayana observes, "the king gifted away the village of Marutura together with Natavāṭa and Vattiparu (line 31) in favour of some eleven Brāhmaņas and also to an individual who seems to have been described as a member not belonging to the first three castes, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśyā (varma-traya-nivrtta) (lines 21-31). The names, gotras and educational achievements of all the twelve are given. Of the Brāhmana donees, some were well versed in the four Vedas, some had mastered eighty tarkas (logics) and some others, thousand tarkas."5 We are inclined to disagree with some of the above views.

Gopasvāmin is called *Varṇa-traya-nivṛtta* probably meaning that he had dealings only with the Brāhmaṇas and not with any of the other three *varṇas*. It seems that he did not speak to and even avoided seeing non-Brāhmaṇas for fear of losing his holiness.

It will be seen that *Gṛhīta-sāhasra*, like *Caturvedavid*, *Aśīti-karkaka* and *Varṇa-traya-nivṛta*, indicated a qualification of a suitable Brāhmaṇa for the purpose of making donation, either for learning or for holiness. *Gṛhīta-sāhasra*, if taken to indicate the learning of the Brāhmaṇas, would suggest that the persons in question accepted or appropriated or adopted an aggregate of one thousand objects (*sāhasra*). This seems to be explainable in two different ways.

In early times, especially in South India, the learning of a Vedic scholar was tested by a sort of lottery. A large number of small passages quoted from the Vedic literature on slips were

<sup>5.</sup> P. B. Desai Felicitation Vol., p. 64. The Väsistha-gotra Brāhmaņa, whose name is damaged in line 30, possibly had no descriptive epithet.

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## SOME EPITHETS OF BRAHMANA DONEES

kept in a ghaṭikā or kumbha (jar); the scholar had to take one of the slips out of the jar at a time and had to explain all questions relating to the passage. Suppose, one scholar succeeded in explaining one thousand such slips at one sitting, he could probably be called Gṛhīta-sāhasra (gṛhītaṁ sāhasraṁ yena).

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa7 and Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad8 give us an interesting story about testing the learning of a Brahmana at the royal court. It is said that king Janaka of Videha performed a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon the Brāhmaņas of the Kuru-Pāñcāla country. In order to satisfy his curiosity as to which of the Brāhmanas was the most well-read, Janaka collected a thousand kine and tied ten pades (quarters of the standard measure) of gold to every single horn of each cow and proclaimed that they should be taken away by him alone, who was the best cognisant with Brahman. The story goes that only Yājñavalkya had the courage of claiming them and succeeded in silencing, by his superior knowledge, all the disputants who challenged him. Now, if a scholar succeeded in defeating all disputants by satisfactorily replying to their queries and obtained one thousand cows or coins, he may also be called a Grhita sāhasra.

Likewise, the epithets  $A \pm iti-tarkaka$  and Sahasra-tarkaka also relate to the learning of the Brāhmaṇas. The word tarkaka meaning one who reasons, in the above expressions, may suggest a disputant who succeeds in defeating eighty or one thousand rivals who challenge him and put questions to him. This possibility reminds us of the  $\pm iting sarayantrin$ , i.e. one who became successful in the  $\pm iting sarayantra$  test of Mithilā. This was a test of scholarship of one who was prepared to answer and succeeded in answering any question on any  $\pm iting sarayantra$  put to him by any other scholar or by the common people.

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<sup>6.</sup> JAIH, Vol. V, pp. 256 ff.

<sup>7.</sup> Kanda XIV.

<sup>8.</sup> I. 1 ff.

<sup>9.</sup> Sircar, Ind. Ep. Gloss., p. 301; Proc. AIOC, Benaras, 1943; Kane, Hist. Dharm., Vol. III, p. 1005.

Compared to the above ways of testing one's knowledge, the present system of examination at our school, colleges and universities is no doubt a mere farce. In the universities of the West, sometimes questions typed on small slips are kept in a tray, and an examinee is called and asked to take up any of the slips and reply to the question it contains. He has to answer about three questions in the said fashion. This is also a poor test of merit compared to the systems prevalent in ancient India.

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10. IAIH, Vol. V, p. 259, note 20.

## Mudra Dharana

BY

#### N. JAGADEESAN

The Mudra Dharana is the first of the Panca Samskaras (the Five Sacraments) and consists of branding on the right and left upper arms of the initiate, the two chief symbols of Lord Viṣṇu, the disc and the conch respectively.1 The branding instruments are made of copper, brass or silver and are heated to a temperature sufficient to singe the skin and leave a deep black mark on it. "For purposes of branding the sticks are heated in a fire in which the sudarśana hōmam is performed. If the Ācārya is a gṛhasta (married man) he heats the sticks after himself doing the homam and brands the initiate. If on the other hand the  $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$  happens to be a sanyāsi he requests a grhasta to do the sudarsana homam and then receives the heated rods bearing the emblems from him and does the branding. The sanyāsis of the Vadakalai persuasion cannot touch any metal under any circumstances. So the heated rods are not directly touched. They are covered with betel or plantain or mango leaves ..... The branding is then done. Some Acaryas such as those of the Ahobilam Mutt and a few Tenkalai Ācāryas do not consider the sudarśana hōmam as necessary and so they dispense with it."2 These brandings are done chiefly at holy places, like Dvāraka, Brindāvan and Uḍki.3

This seems to be an ancient practice at least as old as Periāļvār. W. Crooke is of the view that "the original custom of
branding the pilgrim with the sacred symbol of the God as a proof
that he performed the pilgrimage is now often superseded by a
mark made with moistened clay. But in South India, among the

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<sup>1. &</sup>quot;Preparatory discipline for mantric initiation requires the mark of the disc (chakra) or of the five weapons of Viṣṇu (viz. cakra, śankha, gada, khaḍga and chāpa) being stamped on the several parts of the body with appropriate mantras": A. Govindacharya: Life of Rāmānuja, p. 66.

<sup>2.</sup> K. Rangachari, Śrī Vaishnava Brāhmans, p. 35.

<sup>3.</sup> Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, p. 331.

<sup>4.</sup> Periālvār Tiruppallāndu, St. 7; Periālvār Tirumoli 5:4:1.

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Śrī Vaisnavas and Mādhvas, the visitor to the monastery (matha) is branded on both shoulders." M. Monier-Williams says, "The pilgrims are often branded on their arms with a mark (chāp) of the śankha, gada, padma, kirīţa, dhanus, to serve as an evidence of their having accomplished a particular pilgrimage. At Dvāraka nearly 5000 persons are annually branded."6 But, it is also possible to suppose that this sacrament is just a symbol of allegiance to one religious discipline.7 It would seem to indicate ownership or a mark of identification as in the case of branding of horses etc. It might be the affixture of the Lord's seal on the devotees who belong to him. But the Agamas have taken this rite to a religious plane. Another view regarding the significance of this ritual is that it signifies 'that the soul has been wedded to God as the wearing of bangles etc., by a dame signifies that she is joined in all faith to her husband."8 The devotee is initiated into his appropriate status by the first chanting of the Astaksara (the eight letters of the Lord's name: Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya) after he is ritually branded and the branding guru is the mantrapratama to be distinguished from the mantrarttapratama, the guru who explains the meaning of the supreme mantra.

Vēdānta Dēśika has suggested that the branding is efficacious for the following reasons: (1) The sudarśana (disc) and the pān-cajanya (conch) are the marks of the Arca of God which if the devotees carried on their person, will symbolise their love and affection for God. (2) The marks remind their receiver of the ideal of detachment from samsāra and attachment to God. (3) The marks are necessary for Śrī Vaiṣṇava duties like the worship of Viṣṇu in Śrī Vaiṣṇava shrines . (4) They are conducive to some unseen good. (5) They add internally and externally merit to the spirit of religion. (6) There is a spontaneous urge for them in the hearts of the people. (7) They come like spiritual inheri-

6. M. Monier-Williams, Hinduism, p. 171, footnote No. 1.

<sup>5.</sup> Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. X, p. 26; E Thurston, Ethnographic Notes in South India, Madras, 1906, p. 403 ff.

<sup>7.</sup> Though the Vaiṣṇavas are famous for this sacrament, it is not if the Saivites have no corresponding rite. The bull and the trident used to correspond to the conch and the disc (Periya Purāṇam; Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār Purāṇam, St. 152). But the Smārtas do not seem to have anything to do with the practice of branding.

<sup>8.</sup> A. Govindacharya, Life of Rāmānuja, p. 66,

tance from the ancient seers. (8) They distinguish a Sri Vaisnava from a non-Śrī Vaiṣṇava. (9) They suggest the ideal intrepidity even in the face of death and deadly torture. (10) They remind a Śrī Vaiṣṇava of the ideal peace and goodwill and final release.9 Satyavrata Singh suggests that the disc and the conch branding 'may be looked upon as kainkarya (service) sign suggestive of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava ideal of selfless service to God and man."10

This procedure is called Samāśrayaṇam, that is, taking refuge in an Ācārya (strictly speaking Āśiriyar) and through him worshipping the Lord. Some Vaisnavas treat this rite as possessing adhṛṣṭārtha, i.e. unseen meaning. This complex of rites is also known as Pañca Samskāras.

Śrī Vaisnava Ācāryas rarely bestow Mudrā Dhārana to castes like Rungaru and Jotyphanad though upadēśa is offered.11 "The Pāñcālas (Pāñcālaru who are carpenters, smiths, masons etc.) who worship Vishņu are called Bagōṭa. They have among them a family dedicated to religion. The eldest son of this family succeeds his father to the dignity of guru. The guru is named 'Vipūr Vēncaty Ācārya': Vipūr is his name (sic) and Vēncaty Ācārya his title (sic). He travels about among his followers receiving their contributions and bestowing upadēśa and mudrādhāraṇa."12 "Branding for religious purposes is confined to Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and Mādhavas. Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmans are expected to undergo this ordeal at least once during their life-time, whereas Mādhva Brahmans have to submit to it as often as they visit their gurw (head of mutt). Of men of other castes, those who become followers of a Vaisnava or Mādhva Ācārya (guru) or mutt are expected to present themselves before the guru for the purpose of being branded. But the ceremony is optional and not compulsory as in the case of the Brahmans. Among Śrī Vaisnavas the privilege of branding is confined to el-Gerly members of the family, sanyāsis (ascetics) and the heads of various mutts. All individuals, male and female, must be branded, after the upanayanam in the case of males and

10. Ibid., p. 420.

12. Ibid., p. 251.

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<sup>9.</sup> Satyavrata Singh, Vēdānta Dēśika, pp. 418-419.

<sup>11.</sup> F. Buchanan, A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Vol. I, p. 252.

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after marriage in the case of females. The disciples after a purificatory bath and worship of their gods, proceed to the residence of the Ācārya or the mutt, where they are initiated into their religion, and branded with the chakra on the right shoulder and the chank on the left ....... A person who has not been initiated thus is regarded unfit to take part in the ceremonies which have to be performed by Brahmans. Even close relations, if orthodox, will refuse to take food prepared or touched by the uninitiated." "The fee is not fixed in the case of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas whereas Mādhvas are expected to pay from one to three months' income for being branded." "14"

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H. H. Wilson recounts the efficacy of these marks. "We are told in the Kāśi Khāṇḍ that Yama directs his ministers to avoid such as bear them and that no sin can exist in the individuals who make use of them, be they of whatever caste." 15

It is usual for certain scholars to draw a parallel between the rituals of one religion and those of others, with a view perhaps to suggest that one practice was influenced by another. But usually the truth is that most of the religious practices have independent origin. For religious instincts among ancient men, wherever they might be, tend to be similar. But it is interesting to note the similarities. Referring to the Āiīvikas, D. R. Bhandarkar says, "Again, as first pointed out by Prof. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball." M. Yamunacharya says: "'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire' (Mathew 3:11). The parallel to this is the tapa sacrament which is the impressing of the symbols of charka and śańkha, the symbols of Vishnu, by means of heated metal on the 'shoulders of Vaiṣṇavas." 17

<sup>13.</sup> E. Thurston; Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. I, p. 370.

<sup>14.</sup> E. Thurston; Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. I, p. 372.

<sup>15.</sup> H. H. Wilson, Essays and Lectures on the Religions of the Hindus. Vol. I, p. 41, footnote No. 2.

<sup>16.</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, Ajīvikas, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLI, p. 289.

<sup>17.</sup> M. Yamunacharya, Christian Sacraments, Hindu Samskāras and the Rationale of Ritualism, Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All India Oriental Conference, p. 404.

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BY

#### B. S. SHASTRY

In the Archives of Goa there are a series of volumes entitled the Livro de Cartazes or the Book of Cartazes. The volumes contain manuscripts of cartazes or navigation permits issued by Portuguese authorities to native vessels. There are eight such volumes, covering the period from 1704 to 1817. Most of them are in good condition.

The volumes are of considerable significance for a study of the system by which the Portuguese tried to control the native sea-trade. Right from the beginning of their coming to India the Portuguese regarded themselves lords of the seas. They argued, therefore, that others could navigate the seas only with their permission which could be secured by obeying them and paying them tribute. They threatened to punish those who did not go by their institute. As Vasco da Gama, discoverer of the sea-route to India, put it, the King of Portugal was "the lord of the sea of the whole world, as also of all this coast (of Western India); by reason of which all the rivers and ports, which have navigation, ought to obey him, and pay tribute to his men who moved about in his fleets."1 Cartages were issued for no other reason, but to "conserve the right which the King of Portugal ..... acquired from the domination of the seas, conceding the liberty of navigation to the vessels of those persons who obtain cartazes for them."2

In keeping with this poilcy, a native who wished to put a vessel to sea for trade had to secure a cartaz³ from the Portuguese authorities. Such a cartaz was usually valid for one year. A fee

<sup>1.</sup> Correa Gasper, Lendas da Inlia, tomo I, parte, I, p. 290.

<sup>2.</sup> Pereira, A. B. de Bragança: Arguivo Português Oriental, tomo I, vol. III, parte IV, p. 126.

<sup>3.</sup> See the Appendix for the usual form and content of a cartaz.

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had to be paid for it. The fee was in proportion to the capacity of the vessel. Some times, however, it was issued without any payment. In such cases it was generally in consideration for certain reciprocal concession from the recipient of the cartaz. Every cartaz specified the capacity of the vessel for which it was issued. This information is of importance to those who wish to study the ship-building activities in India in the last few centuries.

The cartaz usually mentioned the name of the vessel, its owner, his native place, the persons on board, and the defence personnel and equipment aboard. It also specified the ports to which the vessel was allowed to go and those to which she was forbidden to sail. Besides, it enumerated the articles which she was prohibited to carry. She was made subject to confiscation if any of the provisions of the cartaz were violated. In fact, one comes across many cases of confiscation by the Portuguese in the 16th century and thereafter until their power was completely curbed in the 19th century.

Cartazes were issued either at Goa, headquarters of Portuguese India, or at any other Portuguese fort or factory along the coasts of India, depending upon the intended destination of the vessel. A vessel going across the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal had to secure its cartaz at Goa. Cartazes issued at a Portuguese fort or factory were sufficient for vessels navigating along the coasts of India. Such cartazes were compulsory even for those vessels which sailed to Goa from any other port of India with a view to obtain cartazes for voyages abroad.<sup>4</sup>

The Portuguese maintained the fiction of their over-lordship over the seas even after the 16th century when their power was challenged by their European rivals, particularly the Dutch and the English. To be sure, they could not lord it over the Europeans. However, they continued to attempt to dominate the native seatrade until the beginnings of the 19th century. Of course, they were not always successful. Powerful native chiefs rarely obeyed them.

<sup>4.</sup>º Biker, J. F. J., Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes, vol. IV. p. 208.

## THE SYSTEM OF CARTAZES

#### APPENDIX

(A specimen cartaz: Portuguese original)

Cartaz a Abdula

Manoel de Saldanha etc. Faço saber aos que este Cartaz virem que tendo atenção a Abdula mouro morador em Mascate haver mandado pedir Cartaz p.a huma Terrada invocada Salamu Sovay deq hé senhorio Caliani Mulgi, e de porte de cem candins de Surrate e p' lhe fazer honra e mercé por esta vez somente. Hey p bem de conceder Licença e seguro a dita Terrada q' leva p.a a sua lotação dous cananes, dezanove marinheiros, duas ancoras de ferro, e duas de pedra e p.a a sua defença seis sipais, tres pessas de Artilheria e seis espingardas, p.a poder navegar a q.es quer Portos dos am.ºs deste Estado neste verão, e não hirá a Porto algum dos Principes ou dos Levantados com quem o Estado estiver em guerra, nem poderá levar, nem trazer Turcos, Abexins, e Rumes, nem carregará ferro, asso, inxofre, salitre, cobre, madeira e bambas machos, nem poderá levar Portuguez, nem trará cavalos sem minha Licença, e só se lhe permite poder lever escravos, e escravas somente de sua nasção, e havendo suspeita ou informação, que algum delles hé Christão, ou filho de Christão, se fará com elle o exame declarado no Consilio Provincial, ainda que os taes filhos não sejão baptizados, e fazendo o contrario, não valerá este Cartaz, e hindo aos Portos prohibidos e trazendo fazenda vedada, e sendo a dita Terrada de lotação, e porte de mais de cem candins será reprezada p.ª a faz.ª Real, e pagou de direitos da entrada e sahida desta Cidade vinte x.s dos ditos cem candins de carga, e não das fazendas. Notefico-o assim aos Generaes, e Cap.es mores, mais Cap.es a pessoas a q' pertencer assim o cumprão, e guardem, e deixē fazer viagem a dita Terrada da hida e volta sem impedimento algum, e passado hum anno não valerá este Cartaz, q' hé o terceiro q' se passou neste verão, e será selado com o Sello das Armas Reaes da Coroa de Portugal. Nicolao Francisco de Sá o fez em Goa a sinco de Dezembro de 1764 o Secretario B.ºr Sozé Vas de Carvalho o fez escrever. Conde da Ega.

- Livro de Cartazes, I, 1704-1766, fls. 206-7.

## (TRANSLATION)

Cartaz to Abdulla

Manoel de Saldanha etc.<sup>a</sup> I make it known to those who may see this Cartaz that Abdulla, Muslim resident of Maskat has sought

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for this time only the honour and favour of a Cartaz for a galley named Salamu Sovay, owned by Caliani Mulji, and of the capacity of one hundred khandis of Surat. I resolve to grant the licence and security to the said galley to enable her to navigate during this summer to any of the ports of the friends of this State. carries on board by allocation two men of small stature, b nineteen mariners, two anchors of iron and two of stone, and for her defence six soldiers, three pieces of artillery and six guns. She shall not go to the port of any of the princes or rebels with whom the State is at war. She shall not carry or bring Turks, Abyssinians and Egyptians. She shall not take on board iron, albino, sulphur, saltpetre, copper, wood and thick canes of bamboo. She shall not have any Portuguese on board. She shall not bring horses without my licence. Abdulla is permitted to take male and female slaves of his country only. If there is suspicion or information that any of them is a Christian or son of a Christian, an examination shall be held in accordance with the resolution of the Provincial Council, even though such sons are not baptized. This Cartaz shall not be valid if anything is done contrary to its provisions. The galley shall be confiscated to the Royal property if she goes to the forbidden ports or brings the prohibited goods or her capacity is more than one hundred khandis. Abdulla has paid twenty ashrafis as the duties of the entrance to and the exit from this City on account of the said (capacity of) one hundred khandis of cargo, and not of the goods (actually on board). I notify that the Generals, Captain-majors, Captains and other persons, to whomsoever it may concern, shall fulfil and guarantee this (Cartaz), and allow the said galley to perform a return voyage without any impediment. This Cartaz shall cease to be valid on the expiry of one This is the third (Cartaz) to be issued this summer. It shall be sealed with the Royal Seal of Arms of the Crown of Portugal. Nicolau Francisco de Sá prepared this at Goa on the fifth of December, 1764. Baltazar Sozé Vas de Carvalho, Secretary wrote it out Count of Ega.

The Book of Cartazes, I, 1704-1766, folios 206-7.

<sup>(</sup>a) Count of Ega, of the Council of His Majesty, Viceroy and Captain General of India.

<sup>(</sup>b) The word canane literally means persons of small stature. However, I am not quite sure of the meaning in the present context.

# A Note on the Gudnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman

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#### G. S. GAI

A brief note about the importance and contents of this inscription was published by me in the Hindu dated 3-6-1971. Recently, the record has been edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal in the Felicitation Volume of Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri called Śrîkanthikā, pp. 61 ff. with facsimiles. But the facsimiles are not quite satisfactory so that it is not possible to verify the readings of the published text, accompanying his article. While discussing the contents of the epigraph, Dr. Gopal states that the object of the inscription was to register some grants made for the worship and maintenance of Kāma-Jinālaya and that this Kāma-Jinālaya stands for the temple of Bāhubali since the Jaina Gommaţēśvara Bāhubali was also known as Kāma or Manmatha. This statement is based on his reading of the passage in line 17 of the text as  $Ath = \bar{a}sya$ Kāma-Jinālayasya pūjā-samskār-ārtham=asau Mahārāja-śrī-Ravivarmmā, etc. We are sorry that we do not agree with the reading and interpretation of the passage in question as given by Dr. Gopal. The letter which has been read as ji in Kāma-Jinālaya should be read as a defectively engraved  $d\bar{e}$  with an unnecessary  $\bar{a}$   $m\bar{a}^t r\bar{a}$  as well as an i mātrā.2 The engraver of this record, though he is entitled to our appreciation in carrying out his job quite satisfactorily has, nonetheless, committed a few mistakes. lines 19 and 22, while writing the word brahmadeya, he has added an unnecessary  $\bar{a}$  sign to the letter  $d\bar{e}$  so that it looks like  $d\bar{o}$  and also unnecessary u and i signs to the letter v with the result that one can't really read this letter. Similarly, the engraver has committed a mistake in carving the letter de in Kāmadevālaya, by adding unnecessarily  $\bar{a}$  and i  $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ . We can also notice the box-

<sup>1.</sup> Cf. Śrikanthikā, pp. 66-67.

<sup>2.</sup> Compare the accompanying facsimile.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

# Content-Analysis of the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions

BY

### N. Subrahmanian & R. Rajalaksmi

The source material for the history of the Tamils for the early centuries of the Christian era is mainly literary consisting of a local literature and some statements emanating from foreign observers. This is supplemented to some extent by statements in non-Tamil literature as well as later references in medieval epigraphy and literature. Now much of this information is helpful to enlighten areas of social life rather than to construct political geneologies or to provide us with a framework of chronology. All this has been worked up and a mass of disjointed material dug out of the sources. Plausible social histories and passable political stories have been patched up and this is what the history of the Sangam age is, so far as we can manage to create one from the aforesaid sources. This has been largely the work of the historian no doubt assisted by the labours of the literary man.

The archaeologist however is not satisfied with this performance or achievement. Material remains either dumb or vocal alone satisfy him. Certain remains like the megalithic stone implements, funerary furniture, skeletal remains and so on are made to yield not conclusions but inferences based on comparative study. Epigraphs like lithic inscriptions no doubt speak but what do they convey? Much has been made of what they convey; and enthusiastic archaeologists, one is afraid, read more than what their sources say.

There are just two kinds of epigraphs for the history of the Tamils of that period: 1. Those that are situated outside the Tamil country like Aśoka's edicts, Khāravela's inscription and the Pallava copper plate grants of the earlier period and 2. Inscriptions found within the Tamil country. Leaving for the moment the former aside and considering only the latter we shall be left with nearly eighty epigraphic pieces which are collectively called the Tamil-

Brāhmi inscriptions. It shall be our endeavour in this paper to content-analyse these pieces.

On rocks and on potsherds we have a number of inscriptions—some running to three or four lines, some just half a broken line, some constituting complete sentences, some making no sense at all but just indicating a syllable here or there. In them we have a certain quantum of information which we shall try to determine and see what precisely is the historical value of these bits of epigraphy. This kind of 'Content—analysis' is necessary to place history and archaeology in their due places which is an urgent need today.

We take for consideration in this paper 78 Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions of which 76 were discovered in the natural caverns in certain parts of Tamilnad and 2 found on potsherds discovered in Alagairai and Uraiyūr. We are however leaving the Arikamēḍu potsherds out of consideration now.

The historical information we cull from the inscriptions are got in two ways: 1. inferential and 2. direct. We shall take up the former first.

In the first place we know from this source that there were rocks which were cut into beds on which some people knew to inscribe, that there were pots which however have become sherds now on which also it was a habit to inscribe: Probably—since we are dealing with inferences now-those two media were chosen for inscription since even as exposed materials rock and the writing on it would endure and buried pottery saved from exposure to sun and rain would endure. These writings indicate that the society to which the scribes belonged was literate. Those people must have known and used whatever material they put into these pots in the context of pottery. The use of this particular script has generated important questions and attracted feeble answers. It has been asked, for instance, why the Brāhmi script should be used to write the Tamil language in the Tamil country. Three answers have been given: 1. That Brāhmi was the only script that ancient India knew whether it was indigenous or not. This script when used in the Tamil country was modified to accommodate special Tamil phonetic sounds like I and r. 2. That the Tamils had a script of their own, independent of Brāhmi, and when the immigrant

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# ANALYSIS OF THE TAMIL BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

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Brāhmi-users tried to write Tamil in the script they were accustomed to, they borrowed the letters which were special to Tamil. Thus we have a modified Brāhmi which has been called Tamil Brāhmi, i.e., an enlarged Brāhmi script used to write the Tamil language. 3. That the two major linguistic areas in India viz., the Sanskritic and the Tamil borrowed the same script from the same area outside India, viz., either Sumeria or Phoenicia and that each linguistic group modified it to suit the genius of its own language. This is perhaps nearest to the truth. There is another doubt and that relates to the authorship of these inscriptions. It has been held till recently that Jaina ascetics settling down in natural caverns in Tamilnad and enjoying the munificence of local chieftains and the hospitality of the Tamil society were the authors of these brief writings. But was it natural that these inscriptions were written by the donees and not the donors and if the donors wrote them and if they were intended to mean something to the general public would it not be in order for the script to be a local script? If the inscriptions were intended to convey some meaning to the donees is it not more probable that the language too was that of the donees and not the regional language. These questions have not been answered satisfactorily nor can they be. One thing at least is certain and this is outside the range of inferences, that some of the inscriptions at least refer to matters not necessarily of interest to Jaina ascetics. The heavy concentration of these lithic inscriptions in and around Madurai can either mean that the Pāṇḍyan king was particularly hospitable or that there were most suitable natural caverns around Madurai. It is an undoubted inference that donations to ascetics and recording of minor secular transactions were occasional phenomena in that society. If epigraphic recording was a more common practice we should have had a larger number of epigraphs. As for potsherds the spade of the archaeologist has not dug up the last inscribed potsherd; many more evidently await excavation.

Let us now turn to direct information from these two sources

I. 1. The Māngulam first inscription: "This is a dedication to Kaṇiyan Nanda the monk (Āśiriyika). This monastery (Paḷḷi) was caused to be given by Kaḍalanvaludi a servant of Neḍumseliyan. 2. Dedication to Kaṇiyan Nanda, monk. This monastery was made by Sadikan father of Ilansadikan brother-in-law (?)

of Nedumseliyan. 3. Dedication to Kaniyan Na(n)da, the monk the son of Kālitika Andai a Kāvidi (a merchant) of the Nigamam or the merchant guild of Velarai caused this lattice to be given. 4. Kaniyan Natan was the giver (of this). 5. Chandaridan was the person who caused this to be given. 6. The merchant guild of Velarai were the givers of this.

We know from the above six epigraphic pieces the following facts: 1. There were Jaina monks (Jaina because of the use of the word Kaniyan) and one of them bore the name Nanda. 2. They lived in places called Palli. 3. Sons and fathers bore the same name, the former distinguished from the latter by the addition of the prefix llam. 4. Sadikan, Kālidika and a Chandaritan were some of the proper names of those times. 5. There were merchant guilds called Nigama (but for Heaven's sake let us not call them chambers of commerce). 6. Merchants bore the title Kāvidi. 7. A monk was called an āśiriyaka. The word āśiriyaka literally means one who attached himself to or sought refuge in a superior and did not mean what one would be tempted to call a teacher, an ācārya. So the Tamil word asiriyar perhaps does not mean a teacher but only one in whom another takes refuge. 8. A lattice—either a window or a door could be an object of donation. 9. Vellaraj was a commercial centre. 10, The two names Kadalan Valudi and Nedumseliyan were - Pandyan family names; but what is interesting is that the former is indicated as the latter's servant or officer and this shows that royal servants bore their master's titles. 11. The dedication was deemed an act of charity as it was called dharma; the use of the word 'dhamma' instead of dharma indicates Pāli influence. 12. The name Kālidikai Andai perhaps means Kālidikan, the father. The phrase stands as the son of Kālidikan Andai; the use of Andai in this context indicates a curious practice of nomenclature. That is, the reference is to the father as well as to the son in the same context. It is not certain if Andai means father or avandandai 'his father'.

II. Tiruvādavūr 1st inscription: This was caused to be given by Aritan of Pangādu. 2. Paraśu, an upāsaka i.e., a lay devotee caused this abode (2009) to be given.

Here we have the proper names Aritan, Paraśu. Aritan perhaps ought to be Āritan. We know of Aiyan Āritanān, author of Puṇapporuļ Veṇbāmālai. Again Ūrai in the inscription is evi-

# ANALYSIS OF THE TAMIL BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS, 307

dently a devil for Urai. This shows, if any showing is needed, that the inscribers were not very literate though they might have been using manuscripts.

III. Keelavalavw: Ilavan—a lay devotee from Tondi gave this palli. Tondi an eastern port seems to have been infested with Jainas. Lay devotees seem to have shown their devotion by donating monasteries.

IV. Kongarpulinkulam: 1. Upparuvan, a lay devotee caused this canopy to be given. Canopy seems to have been provided separately for walled structures. 2. I, Seruttan (Seran Atan (?)) plaited the fronds for the canopy. 3. Pērātan piṭṭan of Pāhanūr caused this canopy to be thatched.

From the above we see that there were canopies which had fronds, which needed plaiting and the man who did it sought advertisement. Canopies were thatched and it was perhaps an accident that the plaiter of the fronds and the 'thatcher' of the canopy were both called Ātan.

V. Vikramangalam: 1. The son of Āndaipikan made this gift (dāna). 2. Kuviran of Pētalai. 3. Śenguviran. 4. Kuvirātan. 5. The gift of Śātan of our village

Pikan, Kuviran, Seṅkuviran, Kuvirātan and Sātan were proper names. Was Kuviran a corruption of Kubēran?

VI. Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi: 1. Andaiāriti. 2. Andai Iravātan. 3. Andaiviswan of Matirai. 4. Andaisenda made this gift. 5. Sandandai Sandan. 6. Andai of Patinūr. 7. Kuviran Andai made this gift. 8. Kuviran Andai a vēļ made this gift. 9. A gift of the residents of Tittil.

Āriti like Āritan, Iravātan, Viśuvan, Śēdan (this must be the form of Senda) and Sandan, must have been personal names; Sandandai was perhaps Sandandandai.

Padinūr and Tiṭṭil were the names of places; and Matirai was a common epigraphic error for Madurai. Here we get personal and place names and mention of the fact of gift.

VII. Sittannavāśal: Bed or seat made by the Ilaiyan of Sirupāvil for Kāvuti Iṭen born at Kumulūr of Erumaināḍu. There was a territorial unit—Erumaināḍu; a town Kumuṭūr. Sirupāvil

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peror of eviwas another name of a place. Kāvuti Iten—a rather curious personal name and for such a person a bed or a seat was provided by the youth of Sirupāvil. This bed or seat is called Adittānam.

VIII. Karungālakkudi: Ilaiyūr had a monastery where Ariti resided. Pāli is monastery.

IX. Marukaltalai: A rock bed caused to be given by Kāsipan a vēļ. The epigraphic form of vēļ, it may be noted, is vēņ nere though grammar does not require it to be so. Vēļ also was known to them as can be seen in one of the epigraphs from Mettupatti. Kanchanam is the word for a bed and the donation is a kalkanchanam i.e. a rock bed.

X. Alagarmalai: 1. A gift by Ātan a goldsmith of Madurai; note that the form for Madurai is Madirai and a goldsmith was a Ponkolavan which can be compared with the form Porkollan. The word tana need not be construed as dana i.e., gift. It could be more easily sthana i.e., 'place' making the inscription say that it was the goldsmith Atan's place. 2. Is too fragmentary for comment. 3. Kani-nakan and Kaninatan - children of Iravi. Kani in both cases a professional prefix meaning astrologer or wiseman. Nakan and Natan then are the proper names. Natan as a name occurs in Māngulam. 4. So there is no need to introduce the letter 'n' and make Natan into Nandan. For 'children' the word is Makal and not Makkal as it ought to be. These and numerous other instances will show that the scribes had poor schooling and could commit scriptal errors. It will follow that any generalisation regarding ancient grammar or syntax on the basis of these epigraphs would be risky. 4. Is a fragment making little meaning. 5. Viyakan Kanatikan, a salt merchant. Here Uppu vānikan is salt merchant. Uppu figures as uppu which again must have been a scriptal error. 6. Gift (?) made by Ātan son of Kanaka Ātan. Here Atan is the personal name quite common in the Sangam age. 7. Mentions the name Sapamita as the name of a nun. 8. Nedumalan—a sugar merchant, Pānita vāṇikan being a sugar merchant. 9. Elasandan a trader in ploughshares. Kolu means the iron tip of a ploughshare. 10. Records a gift by Kalumāran. The second part of that name is suggestive of Pāṇḍyan lineage. 11. He who caused to be given this dripledge; (but does 'Tāra aṇi' mean dripledge, though Mr. I. Mahadevan thinks so?) It is interesting to note that the word Koduppittavan (கொடுப்பித்தவன்) was written then as

Koduppitta-van. 12. Of Kasapan the monk. 13. All of them caused to be given. Here it may be noted that 'all of them is indicated rious by the word avarum (அவரும்) which is clearly an error for ided avarum (அவரும்). All these errors show that this scriptal patnam. tern does not mean any stage in linguistic or literary evolution of here Tamil and that except in certain important cases any comparative study based on these epigraphs and the Tolkappiam will take us nowhere. 14. Ela a Ātan, a textile dealer of Vēnpal. The word lasi-Ela ought to have been Ila meaning the junior. We have thus ven Nedum, Ila, Pēr (vide. Pērātan IV, 3), apart from Iļaiyar and was Ilavan as names in themsmelves. 15. Tiyan Sandan which is ettu-

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2. A rather damaged epigraph mention Nūrukacana which has been made to mean a hundred (rock) beds. 3. Four beds or seats made by Natan or Natar. Irukkai is more properly a seat but the rock beds could be used as seats too.

XII. Tirupparankunram: 1. Anduvan was the person who caused this to be given. Anduvan is a typical Śaṅgam name. 2. Is a fragment. 3. Also a fragment, mentions Mārāyattu, though the second letter is only 'ra'; mārāyam we know was a title borne by official dignitaries even in the Śaṅgam age. 4. Polālayan of Erukkāṭṭu a householder from Ceylon did this (signed) Ay, Sayan, Nedsāttan; Erukkāṭṭūr is a famous Śaṅgam toponym. Ilam is Ceylon. Āy and Sāttan are familiar Śaṅgam names.

XIII. Muttuppatti: 1. Kāvi of Saiyalan of Vindaiyūr. How is kāvi turning cavern? Saiyalan is certainly not Ceylon. Kāvi seems to be an abridged form of Kāvidi. Saiyalan also is a personal name. 2. The son of Atai Sāttan of Nāgappērūr, Atai should have been Andai. Here Andai could not have been Avan tandai nor even merely father, but is probably in itself a proper name, though perhaps unusual. 3. Too fragmentary.

XIV. Ānaimalai: These ... gift ... Nātan ... the dormitory of Kunṛattūr .... Eri Avitan, Attuvāyi, Araṭṭa kāyipan the last three names are perhaps signatures of the makers of the dormitory; Kunṛattūr is a Śaṅgam toponym. Iva the word used in the epigraph must be Ivai meaning 'these.' Here again a colloquialism is preferred to the literary form.

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XV. Pugaļūr: 1. The abode of Senkāyapan Jaina monk hailing from Yāṇṇūr; stone cut by Iļankaḍuṅgō son of Perum kaḍuṅgōn son of king Ātan Śel Irumporai on becoming their apparent. 2. Practically a re-production of XV:1, with the difference that Iļan Kaḍuṅgō is preceded by the word Kaḍuṅgōn which only means Iļan Kaḍuṅgō son of Kaḍuṅgōn. This is about the most important and informative of the Tamil Brāhmi rock cut inscriptions. This gives a geneology, in addition to providing information about a stone abode which was provided by some 'royal' philanthropists to a monk. The word Amaṇan stands for Jaina, meaning Samana from Śramaṇa. Kāyapan a corruption of Kāśipan and Sen Kāyapan were perhaps typical monkish names. Uṇai means abode; Iḷaṅkō co-king; making a rock bed is indicated by the significant phrase, 'Aṛutta Kal' i.e., stone cut.

Now with regard to the geneology: who are these three people i.e., Ilan Kadungō, Perun Kadungōn and Ātan Śel Irumporai? Mr. Mahadevan treats them as three successive rulers of the Cēra Irumporai family exactly corresponding to the Padirruppattu geneology viz., 1. Selva Kadungō Vāliyātan. 2. Perumśēral Irumporai and 3. Ilamsēral Irumporai. These two lists agree only in so far as both relate to Irumporai families, the first king's name is Ātan and the 2nd and 3rd ones Perum and Ilam respectively. We would prefer to be more conservative and wait till the equation can be further clinched. It is no doubt true that names mentioned in the Padirruppattu are also found in the Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions and to that extent the two sources have been further proved to belong to the same age. These inscriptions show that on occasion of the nomination of an heir-apparent charities were instituted. 3. Mention two kings-Kīran and Korran sons of Piţṭandai of Nalliyūr. But the inscription merely says: Nalliyūra Makaļ Kīran Koṛṛa. It is to be noted here also as in X:3. Makal is used for Makkal. 4. Monastery caused to be made by Kiran and Ōri. The young sons of Piṭṭan of Nalliyūr. Is this Piṭṭan of Nalliyūr the same as the one mentioned in XV:3? Kurumakkal is a new expression made to mean the younger sons by Mr. Mahadevan. One does not really know who Kurumakkal are. It is more probable that the word merely means young sons. 5. Bed of Sengāyapan of Yāṛṛūr. The fragmentary.....ttannan must be the later part of Adittannam meaning a bed or a seat. 6. & 7. Also mention Adițțānnam but

# ANALYSIS OF THE TAMIL BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS 311

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nothing else. 8. The bed of Vēni Ātan a merchant.....Vaṇṇikan is curiously enough the form adopted for merchant. Vaṇikan or Vānikan is the usual form. 9. Is too fragmentary. 10. 'Koṛrandai (I) lavan mūnṛu' is also fragmentary but is interesting for the use of the word Koṛrandai which means Korran Tandai. 11. Bed of Atti—a gold merchant from Karūr. Pon vāṇikan is gold merchant; Kolavan in X:1 is different from Ponvāṇikan in XV:11, the former meaning the goldsmith and the latter a gold merchant. The form Karu ūr for Karūr is suggestive, since in ancient and medieval Tamil கருவூர் is the form for கரூர். 12. Iļankīran son of Nāgan.

XVI. Tiruccirappaḷḷi: 1. merely mentions the name Seṅkāyapan.

XVII. Kunnakkudi: 1. simply mentions the name Atan Sattan 2. is fragmentary.

XVIII. Mamandūr: 1. This is the hill of Kanimān conqueror of Tēnūr. This was made by the stone mason..... The word Tanda for 'conquered' is interesting; but Taccan for stone mason is intriguing; now Taccan is only carpenter.

XIX. Araccalūr: 1. Tēvan Sāttan, a lapidary dealing in precious stones caused to be made these seven beds. 'Paṇṇuvittān' for 'caused to be made' is good Tamil. 2. is a symmetrical arrangement of five letters in each line made up of the three letters Ta, Ti and Te. It is suspected that these letters stand for dance beats even as in the Kudumiamalai inscription we have certain letters representing musical notes. 3. is similar to 2.

XX. Piḷḷiyārpaṭṭi: Peruparaṇan chieftain of Erukkāṭṭūr. Peru is like Neḍum and Iḷa. Paraṇan as well as Erukkāṭṭūr are quite Śaṅgam names.

XXI. This is the place of penance of Candiranandi, the monk who observed 57 days of fasting. We do not know if Candranandi died on the 58th day.

Apart from these we shall consider two potsherd inscriptions, part of the finds from Alagairai and Uraiyūr. The potsherd from Alagairai has the word kūttan on it. The Uraiyūr potsherd has but a fragment yielding nothing sensible. Kūttan however is a dancer generally but could be the name of a person, whether that person bore the name of a deity is uncertain, since it is not

beyond doubt if Națarāja concept was familiar to the people who made these inscriptions.

The above mentioned Brāhmi inscriptions are a fāir representative collection of Brāhmi epigraphs of the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tamil country. The Arikkamēḍu finds bearing Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions and certain numismatic Tamil-Brāhmi legends are not brought within our purview here.

A close analysis of the contents of these epigraphs will definitively limit the range of extra knowledge provided by them. Incidentally we will know whether we are or are not exaggerating the importance of such source material. It is deemed fashionable to sneer at literary sources and to consider them worth considering only if they are corroborated by archaeological sources. It has been our experience that literary references do get corroborated more often than not by non-literary sources. This is true at least so far as the Sangam age is concerned. It was not long ago that some senior scholars profoundly distrusted the Sangam literary period; but corroborations which later day epigraphy have provided, has changed this attitude from contempt to tolerance; but the value of the Tamil Brāhmi epigraphic source can be decided only when we imagine the total absence of all other sources and try to see if anything like the history of the Sangam age, political or social, would be then possible. A discreet 'No' can be the only answer.

These inscriptions speak of donations of rock-beds or seats for the benefit of ascetics mostly Jaina made by all kinds of people, kings, merchants etc. Merchant communities, manufacturers of and traders in various commodities get frequent mention. Hardware merchants, goldsmiths, stone masons, textile dealers, lapidaries, gem cutters, sugar merchants, salt dealers, dancers, are about some of the professionals who can very well make up a community of traders, though not a chamber of commerce (?). The merchants indulged in charity as they had good reason to and have done so from time immemorial. The contact between Ceylon and South India is dimly indicated. Kings, princes, their nomination, royal charity on important occasions, royal conquests of neighbouring territories, Jaina monks fasting (unto death), royal officers bearing their overlord's titles, merchants bearing the Kāvidi title, the existence of merchant guilds; the mention of

# ANALYSIS OF THE TAMIL BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS 313

important cities like Karūr and Madurai; the provision of parts of a structure like a roof a canopy and dripledge; the institutions of monks, nuns and lay disciples, monasteries, caverns, rock-beds and seats. This is all what we know from these epigraphs. Their value if judged by their content should be deemed very little. The real worth of these inscriptions consists in the knowledge we get about the palaeography of the times and certain colloquial usages. It is suggested that in relative evaluations of these source material a sense of proportion should be maintained and mere novelty shall not be made to stand for substantial knowledge.

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# Are the Caves at Dharasiva Buddhist or Jaina?

BY

#### V. V. MIRASHI

Dhārāśiva is an old town about 37 miles north of Sholapur in the Marathwada Division of Maharashtra. Some years ago its name was changed to Osmānābād by Osman Ali, a nawab of Hyderabad. It is now the chief town of the Osmānābād District of the Marathwada.

About two miles north-east from the town there are a few caves in a ravine facing the west, which have long been known to Archaeologists. They have been described by Burgess in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. III, pp. 4f. and in the Cave Temples of India, pp. 504 f. Burgess ascribed them to the Jaina religion. After describing the image in Cave II, he says, "The details of this image, and all the arrangements of this and the neighbouring caves, are so exactly like those of Buddha Vihāras, that any one who had not seen other Jaina caves of a similar sort, might easily be led to suppose that these were Bauddha excavations. But a careful study of the Buddha and Jaina groups at Elura suffices to show that these are cave-temples of the Digambara or naked Jains, and perhaps among their earlier attempts at such works, when they began by imitating the Buddhist excavations." Recently Dr. M. K. Dhavalikar has attempted to show that they belong to the Baudhha and not to the Jaina religion.2 It is proposed to examine this question in the present article.

My attention was drawn to this problem as I was studying secently the history of the Śilāhāras who were ruling over North and South Końkan and the Kolhapur region from the ninth to the thirteenth century A.D.; for these kings proudly mention their biruda Tagara-pura-parameśvara (the lord of the city of Tagara)

<sup>1.</sup> Archaeological Survey of Western India, (A.S.W.I.), Vol. III, p. 7.
2. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (J.A.S.Bom.), (New Series),
Vols. XIX-XX, 183 f.; J.I.H., Vol. XLVI, pp. 405 f.

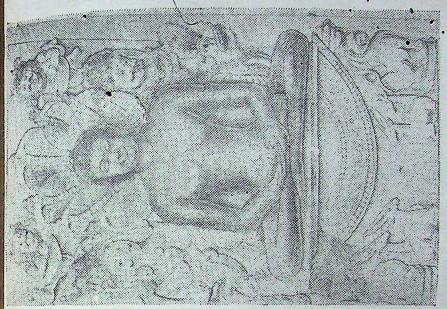
in their inscriptions. In accordance with the interpretation of similar expressions such as Ujjayinī-puravar-ādhīśvara, Kālañ-jara-puravar-ādhīśvara etc. this biruda must be taken to mean that they originally hailed from the city of Tagera, and not that they were then ruling at Tagara. Tagara was a flourishing city in the early centuries of the Christian era. Mercantile articles from several southern places such as Nāgāriunakoṇḍa, Viṇukoṇḍa and Vengī were first taken to Tagara and then transported via Paiṭhaṇ and Nāsik to Ujjayinī in the north or to Broach in the north-west. Tagara has been mentioned as a famous emporium in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea³ as well as by Ptolemy. Like the ancient cities of Ujjaiyinī, Tripurī and Kauśāmbī, Tagara also had coins struck in its name. One such tiny coin of the first or second century A.D. has recently been discovered in Marathwada.

The location of Tagara was not certain for a long time. Being misled by the distance and bearing of the city from Broach and Paithan mentioned by the afore-mentioned Greek writers scholars have variously identified it. It was taken to be identical with Devagiri by Wilford, with Junnar by Bhagvanlal Indraji, with Darur in the Bhir District by R. G. Bhandarkar, with Tavangir, 12 miles north of Kanakagiri by V. K. Rajwade, and with Karavīra (Kolhāpur) by Fleet. Fleet ultimately suggested its identification with Ter in the Osmanabad District,6 which has met with general acceptance. Ter is only about 10 miles north of the caves. It has remains of ancient Buddhist and Hindu temples. In the excavations recently made there by Mr. B. N. Chapekar several pieces of pottery, coins and terracotta figurines dating from the second century B.C. to the third centuy A.D. and thus belonging to the Satavahana period have come to notice.7 Besides, some Sanskrit, Marathi and Kannada inscriptions dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth cenury A.D. have been found there. These antiquities support the identificaion of Tagara with Ter. Sanskrit nagara is changed to ner in course of time. See e.g. Pimpalner (from Pippalanagara) and Sangamner (from Sangamanagara). So

R. C. Majumdar, Classical Accounts of India, p. 376.
 Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>5.</sup> This coin will soon be published in J.N.S.I.6. J.R.A.S., 1901, pp 537 f.

<sup>7.</sup> See his Report on the Excavations at Ter.



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PLATE II. Image in Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva

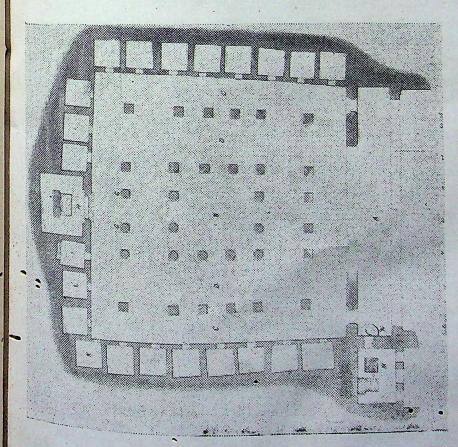


PLATE I. Cave No. II at Dhārāsiva

K marks the cell with a hole always filled with water.

N marks the cell containing a cistern

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

## CAVES AT DHARASIVA BUDDHIST OR JAINA

Tagara seems to have been changed to Ter. Besides, the place is called Terapura or Terapura in ancient Sanskrit and Apabhramsa works as shown below.8 So there is now no doubt about the identification of Tagara with Ter in the Osmanabad District.

As stated before, Ter lies about 12 miles north-east of Dhara-The caves of Dhārāśiva have been described in some Jaina works published during the last fifty years. In 1924 Dr. Hiralal Jain discovered a manuscript of the Apabhramsa work Karakandacariu in the Jain Bhāṇḍār at Kāranjā in Vidarbha. He edited it subsequently in the Karanja Jaina Series. Its author Kanakāmara tells us that the minister who patronised him diverted the mind of king Karna.9 This king is probably identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who flourished in the period A.D. 1041-1073.10 So the Apabhramsa work belongs to the eleventh cen. A.D. It gives the following story of king Karkanda:

Karkanda was the king of the country of Anga in North India. He ruled from Campa, modern Bhagalpur. His dominion comprised almost the whole of Bharata, but the rulers of the southern countries of Cola, Chera and Pandya did not acknowledge his suzerainty. So he started with a large army to subjugate them. On his way he encamped at Terāpura. There a local ruler named Siva met him and told him about the wonderful cave-temple on the hill nearby. His curiosity being aroused, he visited the site. He saw the image of Pārśvanātha in the cave. He also noticed another image of the Tirthankara on the top of the hill. brought it down and installed it in the cave. He then noticed a knob or protuberance (granthi) on the simhāsana of the original image in the cave.11 Thinking that it was marring the beauty of the image, he called an artisan and asked him to chisel it off. The latter told him that the granthi was blocking a spring of water inside. If he chiselled it off, the stream of water would inundate

<sup>8.</sup> The Brhatkathākośa uses the expression Ter-ākhya-nagara (56. 352) and Ter-ākhya-pura (56, 390), which may indicate the name of the town to be Tera or Terā. But in 56, 396 Harisena uses Tera-pattana, which shows that the name intended was Terā, not Tera. The Karakandacariu, however, gives the name a Terapura in 4.3.1.

<sup>9.</sup> Karakandacarin. 10.29,6.

<sup>10.</sup> C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introd., pp. xciii f. 11. Karakandacariu, 4.12.1. Dhavalikar has not noticed this account the world in the work. He thinks that it occurs only in the Brhatkathakośa.

the whole cave. But the king insisted on getting the granthi chiselled off. As soon as it was done, a large stream of water gushed forth and filled the whole cave. The king felt distressed, but he was consoled by a heavenly being who came there from above. He gave him the following account of the cave:

In the southern Vedyardha12 there ruled two Vidyadhara brothers named Nīla and Mahānīla. Having been ousted by their enemies, they fled to the south and established themselves at Teranagara. They were converted to Jainism by a Muni. Thereafter, they got the cave excavated and installed the image of Pārśvanātha therein. As for the other image of Pārśvanātha found on the hill Karkanda was told that it had been brought there by two Vidyādharas from the Pudi hill in Kerala. While going through the air they noticed the cave. To see it they alighted on the hill, and keeping the image there, they went down to see the cave. When they came back, they found that their image could not be moved at all. So they left it there and went away.13

Karkanda got two more caves excavated on the hill. He then invaded Simhala and on his return from there he defeated the rulers Cola, Cera and Pandya and then went back to his own country.

The story of Karkanda occurs also in the Sanskrit work Brhatkathākośa of Harişeņa. It is similar to that given above, differing from it in one or two particulars. According to it, the image of Pārśvanātha found on the hill-top had been brought from

The Brhatkathakośa was composed at Vardhamanapura in the Saka year 853. Vikrama year 989 (A.D. 931-32).15 So it is earlier than the Apabhramsa work Karakandacariu. In fact, the story in the latter appears to be based on Sanskrit version on the earlier work. The mention of Terapura in the Brhatkathākość

- 12. This means in the country to the south of Kailasa.
- 13. Karkandacariu, 5.8. 4 f.
- 14. Brhatkathākośa, 56, 397-98. Again, the Karakandacariu states that Karkanda excavated only two caves on the hill, while the Brhatkathakośa says that he excavated three.
  - 15. Érhatkathākośa, Intro., p. 121.

is the earliest reference to that city so far known in Sanskrit literature.

The caves mentioned in both these works are undoubtedly those on the hill near Dhārāśiva. There are at present six caves on that hill, of which four are excavated facing west, and two more in another part of the hill.16 Of the former, Cave No. II is noteworthy, though now in a dilapidated condition. It resembles the Vihāra caves Nos. XVI and XVII of the Vākāṭaka age at The verandah in front of the cave (See Plate I). measures 78 ft. in length and 10 ft. 4 inches in breadth. Its pillars, of which there were six or eight, have now fallen, bringing down the whole front except for a small fragment carved with the figures of the Jinas. The hall inside is 82 ft. in depth and from 79 to 85 ft. in width. It has 32 pillars arranged in two squares, one inside the other. The outer square has 20 pillars and the inner one 12 pillars. The pillars in front of the shine are round in shape with square bases and constricted cushion capitals, being decorated with horizontal bands of beads and festoons. There are twenty-two cells in the walls of the hall, 8 in each of the two side walls and 6 in the back wall, three being on each side of the shrine at the back. In the shrine, 19 ft. 3 inches wide, 15 ft. deep and 13 ft. high there is a large image of Pārśvanātha seated in the dhyāna-mudrā, with hands on the lap, the palms being turned up. On his simhāsana there appear two deer on each side of what appears to have originally been a wheel placed on its edge, but it has now almost completely disappeared. Over the head of the Tīrthankara Pārśvanātha there are spread seven hoods of a serpent, with a small crown on each of them. There is a Chawri-bearer and above a flying Gandharva on each side of the Tirthankara. (See Plate II).

It may be noted that in the floor of the cell in the north-west corner of the hall there is a hole which is always filled with water. It is probably connected with the cistern at the west end of the verandah in front of the hall.

A little to the east of this cave lies Cave No. III. somewhat smaller in size, but otherwise resembling it. There is a similar

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<sup>16.</sup> A.S.W.I., Vol. III, pp. 9 f. 17. C.I.I., Vol. V, Introd., pp. lxvi f.

figure of Pārśvanātha in the shrine, with the wheel on the simhā-sana quite clear in front. No deer are, however, noticeable on the two sides of it. It is not known if they were carved before. There are four other caves excavated in the hill, out we need not notice them here as they are not relevant to the present discussion.

These caves have been described as of the Jaina religion in the Sanskrit work Bṛhatkathākośa and the Apabhramśa work Karakanḍacariu. I have cited above the opinion of James Burgess, who has described them fully in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. III, and rather briefly in the Cave-Temples of India. He also ascribes them to the Jaina religion. But recently Dr. Dhavalikar has put forward the view that they are Buddhist. He has advanced the following arguments in support of it:—

- (1) Stylistically these caves resemble the Mahāyana Bauddha caves of the Vākāṭaka age, which were carved towards the end of the sixth century A.D. On the other hand, they differ from the Jaina caves at Ellora.
- (2) In the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. to which these caves belong, Buddhism, not Jainism, was flourishing in the northern Deccan. It was only in the 9th century A.D. that Jainism flourished there when it received royal patronage, more particularly under the Silāhāras.
- (3) Literary evidence furnished by the Brhatkathākośa and the Karakandacariu indicates that Cave No. II was Buddhist, not Jaina. Karkanda is said to have installed another image of Pār-śvanātha in that Cave. Where was the need of installing a new image of Tirthankara if there was one there already. So it seems that Karkanda, after worshipping the image, realised that he had committed a mistake, since it was an image of the Buddha. But it was not easy—nay, it was impossible—to instal a new image in place of the old one, because the latter was carved out of the living rock. In fact, Karkanda did not instal a new image. He only removed the dharma-cakra carved in front of the sinhāsana.

<sup>18.</sup> Karakanda may have installed it in the cell to the west of the verandah. For the image of Pārśvanātha found there see A.S.W.I., Vo.1 III, pl. III, fig. 2. This is a loose image.

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So we do not notice it now between the deer on the two sides. The version of the story of Karkanda in both the Jaina works supports this conjecture. It tells us that Karkanda got a knob (granthi) on the simhāsana of the Tīrthankara image chiselled off. That knob was nothing else than a dharmacakra carved on the simhāsana. A similar dharmacakra is noticed on the simhāsana of the image in the adjoining Cave No. III. So both these images are of the Buddha.

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- (4) There is no doubt a seven-hooded  $n\bar{a}ga$  over the head of the image in Cave No. II, but representations showing  $n\bar{a}ga$ -hoods over the Buddha's head are not wanting in Buddhist art. In fact we have several representations of the Buddha in the  $dhy\bar{a}na$ - $mudr\bar{a}$  with a seven-hooded serpent over his head discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. 19
- (5) Karkaṇḍa seems to have got excavated the rock-cut court in front of the cave and also the frieze of Jaina images on the facet of the verandah. This is of a later age probably of the 9th century A.D. He may also have got excavated caves Nos. V and VI in another part of the hill.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Dhavalikar has, therefore, come to the conclusion that Caves Nos. II and III were originally Buddhist. Later, in the 9th or 10th Century A.D., they were converted into Jain Caves. We shall next proceed to examine his arguments to determine this matter.

(1) There is no doubt much similarity in the plans of the Mahāyāna caves (Nos. XVI and XVII) of the Vākaṭaka age at Ajaṇṭā and Caves II and III at Dhārāśiva. All of them have a verandah in front, a hall with cells on three sides behind it, a shrine at the further end, with an image on a simhāsana in it. But it would not proper to infer from these similarities that they are all of the same faith. We can only conclude on the basis of this similarity that they were excavated in the same age. The similarity may be due to the employment of the same artisans by the princes or wealthy persons of the time for getting the Caves excavated. As Dr. U. P. Shah has observed, 'no art is entirely

<sup>19.</sup> Mem. A.S.I., No. 54, pls XXIII (b); XXXI (b).

<sup>20.</sup> J.A.S.Bom., Vols. 39-40, p. 188.

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Jain, Buddhist or Hindu. The same artists who worked for one sect, were employed also by other sects in any particular unit of time and space .... Do we not find identical art style in the Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu specimens of the Kushāṇa period obtained from Mathurā<sup>21</sup>."

Dr. Burgess has shown that Jaina images are noticed on the frieze of the verandah of Cave No. II. Dr. Dhavalikar also has admitted. We have no reason to suppose this frieze only was carved three or four centuries after the cave behind it was excavated. It must have been carved along with the cave in the same period.

(2) That Jainism was not flourishing in North Deccan or Maharashtra in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. when these caves were excavated is irrelevant in the present discussion; for Tagara where the caves are situated was formerly not included in Maharashtra, as it is now. It was Kannada-speaking in those days. This is shown by birudas assumed by the Silahara kings of Tagara who founded principalities in the Konkan and Kolhapur regions in the ninth and later centuries by the favour of their Rāshtrakūṭa and Cālukya suzerains. See e.g., the following birudas: 22 Malagalaganda (the hero among hillchiefs), Gandaraganda (the hero of heroes), Gandarangara (gold among heroes), Nannisamudra (an ocean of truth), Villavidenga (clever in the use of the bow), Pusiganjuvāta (who is afraid of falsehood) etc. These are all Kannada birudas. Though the Silāhāras of North Konkan ceased to assume such birudas in later times, being naturalized in the Marathi-speaking country, the Silāhāras of Kolhāpur continued to bear them to the last as appears clear from their inscriptions. Many of the records of these later Silāhāras of Kolhāpur are in the Kannaḍa language.23 So these rulers must originally have been Kannada-speaking in their home-town of Tagara. The history of Northern Deccan or Maharashtra will not be of any use in finding out whether Jainism was flourishing

<sup>21.</sup> Studies in Jaina Art, p. 3.

<sup>22.</sup> See Janjirā plates of Aparājita, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 35 f.; Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 267 f.

<sup>23.</sup> See Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 30f.

### CAVES AT DHĀRĀSIVA BUDDHIST OR JAINA 323

in the country round Tagara. Unfortunately, we have no records from Tagara dating back to the sixth or seventh century A.D. But the jaina religion was undoubtedly prevalent in Karņātaka in that period. It had the support of the Kadambas and Early Calukyas who were ruling in that age. It is well-known that the Calukya Emperor Pulakeśin II gave liberal patronage to the poet Ravikīrti who erected a Jaina temple at Aihole in the Bijāpur District.24 Aihole is only about 150 miles as the crow flies south of Dharaśiva. So it is not unlikely that Jainism was flourishing at Tagara in the sixth or seventh century A.D. According to Jain tradition, the Vidyādhara princes Nīla and Mahānīla were converted to Jainism and then they got these caves excavated. It is noteworthy that the Silāhāras trace their descent from the Vidyādhara Jimūtavāhana. It is not known if they had adopted the Jaina faith when in Tagara, but it is not unlikely that the caves were excavated with their royal patronage and so in course of time they came to be associated with the Vidyadharas.

carved on the simhāsana of the image in Cave No. III in support of his view that it is of the Buddha. A similar dharmacakra, now mutilated, was also carved between two deer on either side of the image in Cave No. II. The dharmacakra is a characteristic symbol of the Buddha image. After worshipping the image in Cave No. II, Karkaṇḍa realised that he had committed a mistake. So he got the dharmacakra chiselled off in order to convert the image into that of a Jaina Tirthankara. The knob (granthi) which, according to both the above mentioned jain works, was caused to be removed by Karkaṇḍa was nothing else but this dharmacakra. So Dr. Dhavalikar takes this cakra placed edgewise on the simhāsana or pedestal of an image to the distinguishing mark of a Buddha image. We shall examine this argument at some length.

Park at Sārnāth. This event is called *Dharmacakrapravartana* (Revolving of the Religious Wheel), and it is indicated by carving or simhāsana of a Buddha image. This is no doubt a significant symbol of Buddhism. But it seems that it was adopted by the

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<sup>24.</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

Jainas also in the beginning.<sup>25</sup> Caves Nos. II and III at Dhārāśiva are of this age. The Jainas also regard the wheel as a sacred symbol. Haribhadra's Āvaśyaka Sūtra has the following narrative about it.

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Once upon a time Rṣabhanātha, the Jaina Tīrthaṇkara, went to Takṣaśilā. He reached the place in the evening. When Bāhubali, the ruler of the place, came to know of it, he thought of going next morning to have his darśana; but when he went there, he found that the Tīrthaṅkara had already left the place. Bāgubali felt disappointed. He consoled himself by erecting and worshipping a cakra there. This was the origin of the worship of the cakra in Jainism. Such a cakra of bronze fixed on a stick is preserved in the Patna Museum.<sup>26</sup>

The Jainas recognise twenty-four Tīrthankaras. Their images are all alike, but they are distinguished by their cognisances carved on their simhāsanas or pedestals. In the Saka and Kushāṇā periods these cognisances were not evolved. The images of the Tīrthankaras had only the dharmacakra carved on their pedestals or simhāsanas and they were distinguished by their names incised on them. The cognisances were evolved later in the Gupta period. Recently two images of the Tīrthankara Candraprabha and one of Puṣpadanta were discovered in the Vidiśā District of Madhya Pradesh. They have only the dharmacakra carved on the pedestal and are distinguished by the mention of their names in the inscriptions thereon. The cognisances are not carved on the two sides of their Dharmacakra.28

Later, these cognisances such as the bull in the case of Rsa-bhanātha or Ādinātha, the deer of Śāntinātha, the conch of Neminātha, the snake of Pārśvanātha and the lion of Mahāvīra came into vogue. See, for instance, the image of Neminātha at Rājgir. The identity of the Tīrthankara is suggested by the dharmacakra with the Cakrapuruṣa standing in front and a conch placed of

<sup>25.</sup> Burgess also says that the caves at Dhārāsiva were imitated from the Buddhist caves.

<sup>26.</sup> Studies in Jaina Art, pl. VI, fig. 15.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid., pp. 14|f.

<sup>28.</sup> J.O.I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 247 f.

<sup>29</sup> Studies in Jaina Art, pl. VII, fig. 18.

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either side of it. Recently an image of a Tīrthankara was discovered at Keedabrahma in North Gujarat. It has on its simhāsana a cakra placed edgewise with a deer on either side exactly as on the case of a Buddha image.<sup>30</sup> It has been identified as an image of Śāntinātha. There is a similar image of Śāntinātha in the Faizabad Museum.

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The Dharmacakra was thus not a distinguishing characteristic symbol of the Buddha image. It was used to signify the images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras also. The identity of the Tīrthankara was generally indicated by his cognisance carved in addition. In the case of the image in Cave No. II at Dhārāsiva the cognisance is the nāga or serpent which is shown as spreading his hood over its head. The image is therefore of the Tīrthankara Pārśvanatha.

(4) But it may be said that 'the serpent hoods are seen over the head of the Buddha images also. Several such images have been discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The image in Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva which has nāga-hoods over its head can, therefore, be taken to be that of the Buddha also.' This objection is, no doubt, relevant. It must be considered at some length.

The serpent-hoods spread over the head are not a distinguishing characteristic of a Buddha image as they are of the image of the Jaina Tīrthankara Pārśvanātha. They are not noticed on all images of the Buddha. They are seen only in connection with an episode in the life of Gautama Buddha. Gautama spent five weeks at Gayā after he attained enlightenment. Then he went to the Nāga Muchalinda who was dwelling in a lake nearby. To protect him from a storm which broke out at the time, the Nāga spread his hoods over his head. This episode is shown on the railing of many stūpas. The Nāga-hoods are shown over the head of the Buddha only in connection with this episode in the relics of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. He is shown as sitting on the coils of a serpent. Some Nāgas with similar hoods are shown presented in the caves Nos. II and III at Dhārāśiva. The images

<sup>30.</sup> J.O.I., Vol. X, pp. 63 f. 31. See M.A.S.I., No. 54, pp. 28 and 32.

with năga-hoods over their heads must, therefore be taken to be those of the Jaina Tīrthankara Pārśvanātha.

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(5) On the frieze of the verandah are carved small images of Jinas, which leave no doubt that the cave behind is of the Jaina faith. We have no reason to suppose that this façade of the verandah was carved three or four centuries after the cave.

The foregoing examination of Dr. Dhavalikar's arguments must have shown that Cave Nos. II and III are of the Jaina faith There is no evidence to attribute them to Buddhism. They were regarded as Jaina caves from the 9th to the 11th century as is clear from their description in the Bṛhatkathākośa and Karakaṇḍacariu.

We need not suppose that all the description of Cave No. II in the aforementioned two works is correct. Neither Harisena nor Kanakāmara is likely to have personally seen them. The former was staying at Vardhmanapura which, as I have shown elsewhere,32 was situated in Malwa. Kanakamara may have been staying somewhere near Tripuri, the capital of King Karna mentioned in the Karakandacariu.33 Both these authors lived far away from Dhārāśiva. Their description of Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva is evidently from hearsay or Jaina tradition. It is also imaginary to a great extent; for they describe the image in the cave as inlaid with jewels and that on the hill-top as inlaid with gold and jewels. The hall of the cave had a thousand pillars! The story of water stream gushing out of a chiselled knob on the simhasana of the Pārśvanātha image in Cave No. II is equally fanciful. It may have been suggested by the presence of a small hole in the cell in the north-west corner of the cave which is always filled with water. As Burgess conjectured, it has perhaps some connection with the cistern at the west end of the verandate The cell in which the cistern has been excavated has two holes in the floor noticed by Burgess.34 The miraculous story of the water stream inundating the whole cave may have owed its origin to the presence of these holes which are always filled with water.

<sup>32.</sup> Studies in Indology, Vol. IV, pp. 137 f.

<sup>33.</sup> Karakandacariu, 10, 29.6.34. A.S.W.I., Vol. III, p. 6.

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The story that these caves were excavated by the Vidyadharas Nila and Mahanila, who hailed from the Himalayan region and were ruling from Tagara, may be equally imaginary. It occurs first in the Sanskrit work Brhatkathākośa (10th cen. A.D.) Nearly a hundred years before, the Śilāhāra kings had commenced their rule in North Konkan. They state in their records that they had hailed from the city of Tagara. They also trace their descent from the Vidyadhara Jimutavahana. This must have led to the tradition that the caves near Tagara were excavated by the Vidyadharas who had been converted to Jainism. We do not know whether the Silāhāra kings ruling from Tagara were of the Jaina faith. The caves may have been excavated with their generous support. The tradition that the caves were excavated by the Vidyādharas Nīla and Mahānīla after their conversion to Jainism is evidently due to the supposition that those who were responsible for the excavation must have been of the Jaina faith. It may be noted in this connection that a feudatory of the Silāhāras of North Konkan viz. Cāmuṇḍarāja, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., assumed the biruda Tribhuvana-Nīla. His father Vijjarāṇaka was known as Āhava-Nilu.35 These birudas are reminiscent of the traditional rule of the Vidyādhara Nīla at Tagara: for like his Śīlāhāra overlord, Cāmundarāja also bore the biruda Tagarapura-parameśvara, suggesting Tagara as his original home.

35. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p. 66.

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## Status, of Hill Tippera as a "Native" State

BY

#### B. P. BARUA

Hill Tippera or Independent Tippera is the parent state of the modern province of Tripura. The early history of Tippera is shrouded in mystery. A clear picture emerges since the invasion of Tippera by Tugril Khan, the then Governor of Bengal under the Sultanate of Delhi, in 1278 or 1279 when Ratnapha was placed on the throne. Inspite of the extension of influence by the Muslim rulers of Bengal, Tippera maintained its independence through the centuries. It was in 1733 that Sujauddin, Subadar of Bengal, Subdued Raja Dharma Manikya, and compelled him to cede some territories and renamed Tippera as Roshnabad or the country of light. Henceforward the Rajas of Tippera were reigning as the tributary kings of the Mughal Subadars of Bengal. But the Mughals were soon to give way to the British in eastern India.

The British contact with Tippera began as early as 1760 when Nawab Mir Qasim ceded to them the districts of Chttagong along with Burdwan and Midnapore. A British force from Chittagong entered Tippera in 1761 ostensibly to punish, on behalf of the Nawab, the rebellious Raja Krishna Manikya, but actually to bring the king under British sphere of influence. Krishna Manikya surrendered to the British and in 1765, after the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, he was recognised as the Raja of Tippera.<sup>2</sup> In the hill territories he remained an absolute ruler. A settlement was made with him as the zamindar of his plain territories described as Pergunnah Roshnabad in the Mohammedan revenue roll. In 1783 Rajdhar Manikya, the next king

<sup>1.</sup> J. N. Sarkar, Bengal Nawabs, p. 7. Mughal conquest of Bengal: Acc. Sarkar, 1729; Stewart, 1733; and Rev. J. Long, 1739.

<sup>2.</sup> Rev. J. Long, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1850, Vol. XIX,

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was imprisoned and prosecuted on a charge of harbouring dacoits, but was released for lack of evidence. He was invested by the British in 1785 and was made the settlement-holder of Roshnabad in 1792.3 From the beginning Rajdhar Manikya was left in undisputed possession of the hills. Thus arose the dualism of the Hill Tippera Raja; he was both an independent ruler and a British Indian zamindar. As a zamindar, he was liable to the jurisdiction of British courts, and as a ruler of the hill territories, he was independent exercising powers of life and death over his subjects. His position was unique among Indian princes. The income from his estate in British India was much more than the revenue of his independent jurisdiction. To distinguish it from Tippera proper, which was a British district, Hill Tippera was called Independent Tippera.

In 1838 the status of Independent Tippera was reviewed while considering the question of the Raja's right to levy duties on Hill Tippera produce passing to British territory. It was argued by the Commissioner of Chittagong that Hill Tippera did not constitute an independent state because of the fact that the British force had subjugated the whole of Tippera in 1761, that the Raja had submitted to investiture at the hands of the British Government and that Rajdhar Manikya had been apprehended and tried for justice by British officers. All the arguments were rejected by the Deputy Governor of Bengal. Whatever might have been the nature of British occupation in 1761, it was pointed out, only the plain territories were administered by the British Govern-Secondly, the investiture of inferior princes by the ment. paramount power could not alter the independent status of a state. As for the arrest of the Raja, it was stated that the exercise of jurisdiction under the regulations over a zamindar did not necessarily mean the exercise of the same jurisdiction over an independent Raja. On the other hand, the Raja by prescription had a claim over Independent Tippera. Since the accession of the British, particularly since 1792, the Raia had been ruling over Hill Tippera as an independent ruler, without a challenge from any quarter. Moreover, the British authorities had all along treated him as an independent ruler. The Deputy Governor of

<sup>3.</sup> A. Mackenzie, North East Frontier of Bengal, p. 273.

Bengal come to the conclusion that the Raja had an independent hill territory and that he had every right to levy any duty he pleased in his territory.4

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The position of Hill Tippera was again considered in 1860 with reference to Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 26 July 1860, regarding the grant of sanads giving the right of adoption to "Native" chiefs. After describing the peculiar position of the Raja as a zamindar in British territory whose state was held as an adjunct of his zamindary, Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, expressed the opinion that the British Government had no right to interfere with the immemorial custom of the Tippera Raj in matters of succession. According to him, "Independent Tippera is not held by gift from the British Government or its predecessors, or under any title derived from it or them, never having been subjected by the Moguls. The British Government cannot interfere with the succession to the zamindary of Tippera by adoption, nomination or such other means as the special custom of the family lawfully sanctions.... There is nothing for the British Government to concede, in which view any communication made to the Rajah would not profess to be a concession."

This view was apparently accepted by the Government of India as no adoption sanad was sent for presentation to the Raja.<sup>5</sup>

The title of the state was finally determined in 1866. When the Lieutenant Governor's opinion was sought regarding a notification which the Government of India proposed to issue relating to the distribution of original criminal jurisdiction between the several High Courts, Sir Cecil Beadon suggested the substitution of the words "Independent Tippera" used in the draft by "Hill Tippera." For, he observed, "this territory, though not subject to the jurisdiction of our courts, is not practically independent." This suggestion was approved in the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 26th Sept. 1866. Henceforward Independent Tippera came to be known as Hill Tippera. The Raja, however, continued to use the words "Independent Hill Tippera" in his

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., pp. 409-414.
5. Government of India, Foreign Department, Political proceedings A, March 1862, No. 376.

official documents. These terms were thought to be harmless a the Raja never asserted his independence by any action of questioned the authority of the British Government in any ways

As early as 1860 the District Magistrate of Tippera and the Commissioner of Chittagong urged upon the Government to interfere in Hill Tippera consequent upon Lushai raids in British territory across Hill Tippera.7 Mr. C. T. Buckland, Officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, suggested that the Government should either set aside the Raja's independence or appoint a Political Agent at Agartala to relieve the Raja of his duty of frontier defence. He added that an enquiry should be made at to the professsed independence of the Raja of Hill Tippera. It his opinion, if the Raja was in any way tributary or in allegiance to the Mahammedan power, he would have stood in exactly the same position in relation to the British Government. In case his independence was taken as an admitted and unquestionable fact Buckland opined, his relation with the British Government should be reviewed and certain principles should be laid down for future guidance. Buckland observed that there was nothing in Hill Tippera for the Government to desire annexation. It was all hill and jungle, its population was small and its revenue would not pay the expenses of its government. He opined that the Raja of Hill Tippera might be treated like the chiefs of Chittagong Hill Tracts.8 No order was, however, passed on the proposal by the authorities.

In 1868 Sir William Grey reversed the opinion hitherto held by the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal while classifying the chiefs within his jurisdiction with reference to the nazarana rules. the basis of a note prepared by his Under Secretary, Mr. Geoghegan, he was of the opinion that Hill Tippera had at one time been subjected to the Mughal. He was obviously referring to the subjiv gation of Hill Tippera by the Mughal subadar of Bengal in 1733. He observed that the Raj was so insignificant that succession to it naturally followed the succession to zamindary, and the claimants

<sup>6.</sup> Bengal Political proceedings B, 21 February 1877 Nos. 82-83.

<sup>7.</sup> Bengal Judicial proceedings A, 7 November, 1877, Nos. 82-83. 8. Ibid., June 1862, Nos. 5-7.

to the throne always applied to Government, as to a paramount power, for recognition. In his opinion, "Hill Tippera is really non-British, though the Raja is a feudatory." Acting upon this, the Government of India, in their Resolution, dated 6 March 1870, decided that the Raja was a "feudatory," and as such nazarana should be demanded from him on succession. 10

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When the question of the appointment of a Political Agent was under consideration, the position of the Raja and his state was fully discussed. In 1870, in a letter to the Government of India, Mr. Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, referred to the anomalous position of the Raja whereby a British subject possessed the power of war and peace, and of life and death, without limit or control in a tract of country almost surrounded by British territory. It was suggested that the Government might properly go further, than the appointment of Political Agent and place the Raja in a somewhat similar position to that occupied by the Cuttack Chiefs. No change in his status was, however, made when final orders were passed.11 When the Raja remonstrated against the proposal to appoint a Political Agent at Agartala, the Government of India assured him that in appointing a Political Agent the Government had no intention to cause a reduction of his power and interest.12

The Status of Hill Tippera again came under the consideration of Government in connection with the Laws (Local Extent) Bill and the Scheduled Districts Bill. According to Aitchison, whether a particular territory is a state or part of British India should be judged by the evidence of long usage and writings. On that basis, it was evident that Hill Tippera did not form a portion of British India. Accordingly, it was excluded from the schedule of the Scheduled Districts Bill, as territory to which the power of Government to extend its legislation did not apply. 13

<sup>9.</sup> Government of India, Foreign Department, Political proceedings A. March 1862, No. 376.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., January 1869, No. 426.

<sup>11.</sup> Bengal Judicial proceedings A, Nov. 1870, No. 103.

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., October 1870, No. 106.

<sup>13.</sup> Bengal Political proceedings A, 12 July 1880, No. 1.

Hill Tippera was never regarded a non-regulation province of British India, the King being a feudatory, it was nothing but a vassal state. In consonance with the new interpretation of the status of Hill Tippera, the Government of India drew the attention of the Government of Bengal to the impropriety of the use of terms "throne" and "crown" in the Administrative Report of the Political Agency of Hill Tippera for 1874–75.14

The High Court of Calcutta in a case between Rajkumar Nabadeep Chandra Dev Barman Vs. Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya Bahadur, Radha Kishore Thakur and Samarendra Chandra Thakur, described Hill Tippera as "Sovereign State" in 1883. That Hill Tippera made and administered its own laws without dependence on any power and that the Maharaja exercised the power of life and death within his territory were treated as clear evidence of its sovereignty. "Its acknowledgement of the British Government as the paramount power and the nuzzur paid on the recognistion by that Government of each succeeding Maharaja do not take from it the status which by the law of nations it is entitled to hold." 15

Thus, theoretically and legally Hill Tippera was a sovereign and independent state. There was no treaty binding Hill Tippera into a subsidiary alliance with the British Government. Nor was it a created state. The only mark of subjection was that the Raja received his investiture from the British Government and was required to pay the usual nazarna on succession. Its legal status was even superior to that of large states like Hyderabad, Gwalior and Indore. But in practice Hill Tippera was treated as a small "Native State" subservient to British paramountcy The Maharaja was not even invited to attend the Delhi Darbar in 1877; he was asked to celebrate it at Agartala.

In the opinion of Sir Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Hill Tippera formed a part of the "British Empire." This opinion had been communicated to the Foreign Department in 1863. But the question was never fully discussed. With the

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., 3 October 1875, No. 3.

Ibid., 2, July 1883, Nos. 28-30.
 Ibid., 12 July 1880, Nos. 1-2.

liberal interpretation of the terms, empire and paramountcy, "Native States" were reduced to vassal states. By the end of the nineteenth century the internal affairs of Hill Tippera were brought under the general supervision of the Government exercised through the Commissioner of Chittagong and the District Magistrate of Tippera-cum-Political Agent of Hill Tippera. By a sanad issued to the Raja Radha Kishore Manikya in 1904, the Chiefship of Hill Tippera was made hereditary in the Deb Barman family, and the traditional and recognised custom of succession was replaced by the principle of lineal primogeniture. 17

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British paramountcy became an established fact by the end of the nineteenth century and the Raja of Hill Tippera was reduced from the position of a sovereign ruler of a semi-independent state to a minor prince of a small "Native State" subordinate to the paramount power.<sup>18</sup>

The importance of Hill Tippera as a "Native" State lies in the fact that it offers a striking example as to how a sovereign state was reduced to a subordinate state through the exercise of mere political pressure. Secondly, the case of Hill Tippera needs to be studied because the Raja was the only prince who had extensive zamindaries in British India and as such he was both a subject zamindar and an autonomous prince. Hence, the position of Hill Tippera deserves to be cited in text-books.

<sup>17.</sup> Aitchison, Treaties, Engagements, Sanade etc., 1909, Vol. II, p. 281.

18. The Chief of Hill Tippera was conferred the title of Maharaja as a hereditary distinction in January, 1919. He was styled as "His Highness" in official correspondence since 1884. As a prince he was entitled to a salute of 13 guns

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## A Note on Husain Shah's Assam Expedition

BY

### SUNILKUMAR DAS

Husain Shāh's encounter with the Ahoms is a matter of much controversy. The bewildering texts lead scholars to doubt their relevancy with regard to this critical but interesting episode. The difficulty is further intensified by the curious fact that, though numerous coins and a few inscriptions describing Husain Shān as the conqueror of  $K\bar{a}mr\bar{u}$  (Kāmarūpa) and Kamtah (Kamatā) have been discovered, they are completely silent with regard to his expedition against Assam.

'Ālā-ud-Dīn Husain Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.), the Sultan of Bengal conquered Kāmarūpa after vanquishing its ruler Nilāmbara,¹ the third and the last king of the Khena dynasty, who ruled with his capital at Kamatāpura situated on the left bank of the Dharla, about fourteen miles south-west of modern Cooch Behar. With the defeat of Nilāmbara his kingdom was incorporated into the Bengal Sultan's dominion. From his base at Kāmarūpa, the victorious Gauḍa Sultan is said to have led a campaign against Assam and became quite successful. The consolidation of the conquests was left in charge of his son, identified with Dānyāl,² who could not join his new post of the Governor of Kāmarūpa, the headquarters of which was situated at Hājo, few miles north-west of Gauhāti, before 1498, for he

<sup>1.</sup> Riyās-us-Salāṭin, tr. M. A. Salam, 1902, p. 134; History of Bengal, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, 1948, p. 146; E. A. Gait, History of Assam, 1963, Fp. 44-46; M. Martin, Eastern India, London, Vol. III, pp. 410f. Accounts vary regarding the end of Nilāmbara. He was taken prisoner, escorted to Gauda and later managed to escape and was heard no more, or he was killed in the battle-field (see Martin, op. cit., p. 411; JASB, 1873, p. 240; H. N. Chaudhuri, The Cooch Behar State, 1903, p. 224).

<sup>2.</sup> Salam, op.cit., p. 132 note 1; J. Princep, Useful Tables, 1835, p. 117; Cf. also JASB, 1872, pp. 79 note, 335; Badauni, Muntakhāb ut-Tawārīkh, Bib. Ind., 1868, vol. I, p. 317; Ibid., ed. G. S. A. Ranking, 1898, p. 417.

was in Munghyr at least till that year. This is corroborated by the Munghyr inscription of 903 A.H. (1497-98 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> in which year he is said to have constructed a vault over the shrine of Pir Nāfah.4 The appointment of the Governor of Kārnarūpa is further supported by the traditional date of the fall of Nilambara rather Kamatapura, which is ascribed to the year 1498.5

Numerous hoards of Husain Shah's coins have been found. some of which bear the epithet "the conqueror of Kamru and Kamtah ....." These coins are dated 899 A.H. (1493 A.D.),6 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.), 7 912 A.H. (1506 A.D.), 8 914 A.H. (1508 A.D.), 9 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.), 10 919 A.H. (1513 A.D.), 11 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.), 12 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.), 13 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.), 14 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.). 15 Of the epigraphs, mention may be made of an inscription on a little mosque near the Thana of English Bāzār, Gour, dated 1st Ramazān, 907 A.H. (March 10, 1502 A.D.). The Sylhet inscription dated 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.) of Husain Shāh also records the same eulogy (i.e., the conqueror

3. JASB, 1872, p. 335; S. Ahmed, Inscriptions of Bengal, Dacca (undated), vol. IV, pp. 153f.

4. Nāfah is a Persian word meaning 'pod of musk'.

- 5. Gait., op. cit., p. 44; Sarkar, loc. cit.; JASB, 1873, loc. cit.; Ibid., 1872, loc. cit., ibid., 1874, p. 281.
- 6. H. N. Wright, Cat. of the coins of Ind. Muse., 1907, vol. II, p. 173, pl. V, No. 175; A. W. Botham & R. Friel, Suppl. to the Cat. of the Prov. Cab. of coins, Assam, 1919, pp. 152f, No. 6/17; JPASB(NS), 1929, p. 6N.
  - 7. Botham, Cat. Prov. coin Cab. Assam, 1930, p. 170, No. 18.
  - 8. Wright, loc. cit., No. 176.
- 9. Ibid., No. 177; Botham, op. cit., p. 168, Nos. 10, 11; Botham and Friel, op. cit., pp. 150 f, Nos. 6/10; 6/12.
- 10. Botham, op. cit., p. 170, No. 19; Botham and Friel, op. cit., pp. 148f, No. 6/1.
- 11. Wright, op. cit., p. 174, No. 179; S. Lanepoole, Coins of the Md. States of Ind., 1885; p. 47, pl. 6; No. 122; N. K. Bhattasali, Cat. of the Coins in the Collec. of H. Rahman, 1936, p. 24, pl. II, No. 120; JPASB(NS), 1929, p. 7N.
  - 12. Botham and Freil, op. cit., pp. 150f, No. 6/8.
  - 13. Ibid., No. 6/9; Botham, op. cit., No. 20.
- 14. Wright, op cit., p. 173, No. 178; JPASB(NS), 1929, loc. cit. 15. Botham, op cit., p. 169, No. 16; Botham and Friel, op. cit., pp. 152 f. No. 6/16.
  - 16. JASB, -1874, p. 303.
  - 17. Ibid., 1922, p. 413.

A NOTE ON HUSAIN SHAH'S ASSAM EXPEDITION 339

of Kāmrū and Kamtah) as that occurs on the coins as noted above.

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The available specimens thus make it apparent that the earliest and the latest coins styling Husain Shāh as the conqueror of Kāmrū and Kamtah are dated respectively in 1493 and 1518 A.D. All this, therefore, suggests that Husain Shāh's Kāmarūpa expedition took place between 1493 and 1498, and not between 1498 and 1502 as some scholars would have us believe. The problem that requires consideration is, therefore, why the coin legends continued to style Husain Shāh as the conqueror of Kāmrū and Kamtah as late as 1518 A.D. although the region was already under control of the Sultan by 1498 A.D. It may not be unreasonable to infer that though the conquest of the tract was an incident of the past, the continuation of the epithet on the coins and in inscriptions unmistakably bespeaks that Husain Shāh was strong enough to retain his hold over Kāmarūpa.

At any rate, the victorious Gauda army, consisting of infantry and cavalry, records the Ālamgīrnāmāh, 19 won an initial victory over the Assamese. Incapable of holding against the Bengalee forces, the king of Assam retired to the hills leaving the plains below to be occupied by the Muhammadan soldiers. Leaving his son to bring about the subjugation of the region, Husain Shāh returned to Bengal. When the rains set in, the Rājā accompanied by his followers descended from the hills, blocked the roads, surrounded the Muslims and captured them to the last man. Almost an identical description is recorded in the Fathiyāh-i'-Ibriyāh<sup>20</sup> and the Riyās-us-Salātin. 11 The Rajamālā, 12 while narrating Husain Shāh's war with Tippera, incidentally refers to his Assam affairs. After suffering defeat

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid., 1872, p. 79 note; Gait, op. cit., pp. 44-46; Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 146f; Salam, op. cit., p. 132; R. K. Charaborti, Gauder Itihāsa, 1909, Vol. II, p. 113; R. D. Banerji, Bāngālār Itihāsa, 1324 B.S., Vol. II, pp. 247f.

<sup>19.</sup> Muhammad Kāzim, op. cit., Bib. Ind., 1868, pp. 730 f.

<sup>20.</sup> JASB, 1872, p. 79; Fathiyāh-i'-Ibriyāh or Tārīkh-Fath-i-Āshām was written by Shihābud-Dīn Tālish between August 9, 1662 and May 13, 1663

<sup>21.</sup> Salam, op. cit., pp. 132f.

<sup>22.</sup> Op. cit., ed. K. P. Sen, 1337 Tripurābda, Vol. II, p. 24.

at the hands of Tippera Rājā, Husain Shāh is said to have exclaimed!

> Yuddhete Āsāma Koca māriā laila / Tripurāra sainya āmā apamāna dila //

'The Assamese and the Koch people inflicted injury on me in the battle and the soldiers of Tippera also insulted me.'

This is, in all, the extent of literary sources in support of Husain Shāh's Assam expedition. Some scholars are of opinion that Husain Shah attacked Assam immediately after his conquest of Kāmarūpa in 1498 A.D. But it would perhaps be improper, in the absence of epigraphic and numismatic evidence, to attach any undue importance to Husain Shāh's expedition against Assam.

According to S. N. Bhattacharya, "the Kāmatā and Assam campaigns (of Husain Shah) were successive in time, the second one being a supplement and a corollary to the first."23 He also identified the commanders of Husain Shah's Assam campaign with Bit Mālik and Mit Mālik,24 who, according to the chronicles of Assam,<sup>25</sup> were responsible for Assam invasion in 1527 A.D., and rejected26 thereby the views of E. A. Gait,27 according to whom Husain's Assam campaign was a myth.

But a critical examination of the evidence reveals that the inference drawn by Bhattacharya is debatable.

In the first place, he suggested that the Ahom dominion, during the close of the fifteenth century, had stretched eastward of Barnadī far to the upper Brahmaputra valley.28 This view is endorsed by M. R. Tarafdar.29

But this proposition is refutable on the ground that the Ahom dominion, by the close of the fifteenth century, did not extend beyond the river Dikhu.30 And it was not contiguous to the

23. Mughal North East Frontier Policy, 1929, p. 85 note.

24. Ibid., pp. 86 ff.

25. Ahom Burañjī, ed. G. C. Barua, 1930, pp. 66-68.

26. Op. cit., p. 85 note.

27. Ibid., pp. 91-92, note 1. Also see JPASB, 1910, p. 157.

28. Op. cit., p. 71.

29. Husain Shahi Bengal, ASP, Dacca, 1965, p. 49; JNSI, 1957, p. 57. 30. See Laksmi Devi, Ahom Tribal Relations, Gauhati, 1968, p. 80.

### A NOTE ON HUSAIN SHAH'S ASSAM EXPEDITION 341

boundary of the Kamatā kingdom as believed by S. N. Bhattacharya and M. R. Tarafdar. The region intervened between the kamata and the Ahom kingdoms was ruled by several independent principalities controlled by the Chutiyas31 on the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the Kachāris on the south bank with their neadquarters in the Dhansiri valley.32 Besides, a number of netty chieftains designated as the Bhūiyāns, whose identity is wrapped up in obscurity, controlled the tracts situated to the north-east and south-east of Kamatā and it extended as far as the Subansiri in the north of the Brahmaputra and the Kapili valley in the south.33 The configuration of the region leaves no doubt that the Muslim soldiers must have encountered with these chiefs or they were required to form an alliance of friendship with them before they could have marched to the Ahom dominion. But neither the Muhammadan sources nor the Assamese chronicles enlighten us on this point. But the admittedly short duration of the campaign and its abrupt end make the subjugation of all these political entities improbable within so limited a time. So Husain Shāh's alleged campaign against Assam could hardly make the Ahoms feel its real impact.

Secondly, Sultan Husain Shāh, contends Bhattacharya, led his campaign against Assam when it was ruled by Shü-hen-phā.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, he referred to the name of the Barapātra Gohāin,<sup>35</sup> the notable commander of the battle that ensued with the Muslims.<sup>36</sup>

But the statement of Bhattacharya requires a modification because of the fact that the post of the Barapātra Gohāin, the third dignitary of the Ahom court was created in the reign of

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<sup>31.</sup> W. B. Brown, An outline grammar of the Deori Chutiya Language, 1895, p.,77.

<sup>32.</sup> See Botham & Friel, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>33.</sup> The seats of the Bhūiyāñ power and the extension of their jurisdiction will be taken up shortly/

<sup>34.</sup> Op. cit., pp. 84, 85. This view is also maintained by R. C. Majumdar (see An Advanced History of India, ed. Majumdar, Roychoudhuri and Dutta, p. 389).

<sup>35.</sup> Op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>36.</sup> G. C. Barua, loc. cit.

Shü-hummöng (1497–1539),<sup>37</sup> and not in the reign of Shü-henphā, who, according to the chronicles of Assam, ruled<sup>38</sup> from 1488 to 1493 A.D.—a period almost prior to the accession of Husain Shāh to the throne of Gauda (Bengal).

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Thirdly, he attempted to identify<sup>38a</sup> Husain Shāh with 'Khunphang' of *Purani Asam Burañjī*<sup>39</sup> and 'Khoopangh' of *An* Account of Assam.<sup>40</sup> Following Bhattacharya, M. R. Tarafdar also maintained the same identification.<sup>41</sup> But the above identification is not supported by evidence.

A writer of an essay 'Ancient Assam' published in the Calcutta Review<sup>42</sup> points out that "his (Husain Shāh's) march does not seem to have extended beyond Tezpore; and though he succeeded in demolishing their capital and loading himself with plunder he was ultimately repulsed by the Baro-Bhuyas and was obliged to content himself with his possession in Kamroop."

On a careful examination of the materials regarding the rise and fall of the Bāro Bhūiyāns it becomes clear that the above statement of the contributor of the article 'Ancient Assam' appears to be certain. The actual Government of Kāmarūpa, holds K. L. Barua, since the transfer of its capital to Kamatāpura was controlled virtually by the petty Bhūiyān chiefs. Their supremacy on the south of the Brahmaputra, rather Central Assam of present times is corroborated by the Śankaracarita of Bhūṣaṇānda and the Bhāgavata (Ch. X) 45 of Śrī Śankaradeva. According to these sources, Śrī Śankaradeva (1449–1569 A.D.), the great great–grandson of Caṇḍīvara, a renowned Bhūiyān chief, was

38. Gait, op. cit., p. 86; Botham, op. cit., p. 450.

38a. Op. cit., p. 86 note.

39. Op. cit., ed. H. C. Goswami, 1922, p. 58.

J. P. Wade, op. cit., ed. B. Sharma, 1927, p. 30.
 Husain Shahi Bengal, p. 45.

42. 1867, p. 528.

43. Early History of Kāmarūpa, 1933, p. 217. See also Gait, op. cit., p. 38. 44. Cf. N. N. Vasu, Social History of Kāmarūpa, 1926, vol. II, p. 14, note 11.

<sup>37.</sup> Sātsarī Assam Burañjī, ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1969, pp. 12f, 67f; Deodhāi Asam Burañjī, ed. Bhuyan, 1962, pp. 124f.

<sup>45.</sup> Op. cit., padas 1477-78

## A NOTE ON HUSAIN SHAH'S ASSAM EXPEDITION 343

born at Baṭadravā (modern Bardowa) in the district of Nowgong. Caṇḍīvara is said to have ruled over the tract between Nowgong and Tezpore lying on both sides of the Brahmaputra. Besides, the existence of a number of Bhūiyān chiefs on the north bank of the Brahmaputra is proved by the fact that Viśva Sinha (1515–40), the founder of the Koch royal family, rose into eminence only after subduing the Bhūiyāns. In addition to these, mention is made of Rūpa Nārāyaṇa, Ghosāl Khān, Mal Kumāra and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, probably Bhūiyān chiefs, who, after the fall of Nilāmbara, are said to have been either defeated by or surrendered to Husain Shāh's soldiers.

From what has been said above, it seems fairly certain that Husain Shāh's alleged Assam Campaign was actually carried against the Bhūiyāñs. The war strategy, as recorded in the Muhammadan chronicles, a common practice amongst the mountainous people, was followed by the Bhūiyāñs, who though defeated initially, became successful at length after inflicting a crushing defeat on their opponents, the Muslims. This eastern campaign beyond Kamatāpura is perhaps alluded to in the later Muslim chronicles as the Assam campaign of Husain Shāh. There is perhaps no reason to attach any undue importance to the information recorded in the Ālamgīrnāmāh, Futhiyāh-i'-Ibriyāh, Riyās-us-Salātin and the Rajamālā as these are not supported either by numismatic and epigraphic evidence or by sufficient authentic references.

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<sup>46.</sup> Cf. Vasu, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>47.</sup> Sūrjya Khari Daibajña, *Darrang Rāj Vainšāvalī*, ed. H. C. Goswami, 1917, slokas 90-94, 118-22, pp. 16, 21-23.

<sup>48.</sup> See Salam, op. cit., p. 134; K. L. Barua, op. cit., p. 264; H. E. Stapleton, Memoirs of Gour and Pandua, p. 34; Vasu, op. cit., pp. 22f.

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## A Note on Apratirathah

BY

#### V. C. PANDEY

The Gupta inscriptions apply the epithet 'apratirathah' to Samudragupta and Chandragupta II alone. For instance, the Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes Samudragupta as "Pṛthi-vyāmapratirathah." The word apratirathah occurs on his Archer type of coins as well. The Gupta records, e.g., the Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, uses, for Chandragupta II, a slightly different epithet—svayam—apratirathah.

Dr. Fleet has translated these two designations as 'one who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world' and 'one who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power)' respectively. But some scholars following Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, have sought to prove that both these designations connote the Vaisnava faith of the two Gupta emperors. According to Dr. Chhabra, the epithet 'apratirathah' figures among the thousand names of Lord Visnu, as would appear from the following 'sloka' in the Visnu-Sahasranāma:

Aniruddho' pratirathah pradyumno' mitavikramah

As regards svayam-chāpratirathah used for Chandragupta II, it means 'the very (svayam-sākṣāt) incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu.'

However, it is difficult to accept such a view for a variety of reasons:

1. Samudragupta was undoubtedly a Brahmanist, as would appear from his performance of a horse sacrifice and his description as 'the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures<sup>4</sup> and 'the

<sup>1.</sup> Fleet C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 14.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., p. 54. 3. Gupta Samrāt aur Visnusahasranāma (in Hindi), Nāgarī Prachārinī, Sabhā, Varanasi

<sup>4.</sup> Sāstra-tatvārtha-bhartuḥ—Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

firm rampart of the pale of religion." But it is difficult to agree with Dr. D. C. Sircar's assertion that 'Samudragupta was certainly a Vaiṣṇava,' but his successors, who claim to have been Bhāgavatas, do not apply that epithet to Samudragupta. There was probably some sort of doctrinal difference between Samudragupta's Vaiṣṇavism and the Bhāgavatism of his descendants. 6 There is nothing to warrant the assumption that Samudragupta and his descendants belonged to two different schools of Vaiṣṇavism. The non-mention of Samudragupta as a paramabhāgavata in the inscriptions which invariably call his descendants as paramabhāgavata would rather suggest that the former was not a Vaiṣṇava at all.

2. It is true that Samudragupta has been described as purusasyācintyasya, the Inscrutable Being, and lokadhamno devasya,7 a good dwelling on earth, in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. But it is untenable to take these two epithets as the synonyms of Lord Visnu, as Dr. Sircar and Dr. Chhabra have done. The same inscription describes Samudragupta as the like of Kuvēra, Varuna, Indra and Yama.8 All this mitigates against the view that Samudragupta was a Vaisnava or an incarnation of Lord Visnu. In fact, the attribution of divinity to Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription conforms to the concept of the divinity of king in Hindu Polity. However, barring a few exceptions, ancient Indian law-givers did not propound the theory of the divine origin of kingship as it was understood in the West. When Manu9 postulated that the king was created from the eternal particles of eight lokapālas, he was only attempting a functional comparison between the king and the gods. But he has nowhere called his king as the incarnation of God. All that he means is that the king may be as good as a god so long as he behaves like a god. This functional comparison is brought out in clearer terms by the Agni Purāṇa which tells us that the king is wind god, because he roams all over the world in the person of his spies. He is Yama, because he burns the evil-doers. He is Kuvera,

6. Select Inscriptions, p. 266, foot note 4.

<sup>5.</sup> Dharma-prāchīrabandhaḥ—Ibid.

<sup>7.</sup> Compare Manu VII.8-Mahatī aevatā hyeshā nararupena tishthati.

<sup>8.</sup> Dhanadavarunendrāntakasamasya—Allahabad Pillar Inscription.
9. Manu VII 4—Indrānilayamārkānāmagnešcha varuņasya cha chandravittešayośchaiva mātrā nirhritya šāśvatah.

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since he makes gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and the learned. He is the god of rain, since he pours down wealth on the poor. He is Seṣanāga, since the whole universe is supported by his forbearance. He is Hari, since he protects the people. Thus, the object of the scribe comparing the king with various gods, including "puruṣasyā-cintyasya," was not to portray the religious faith of his patron, but to emphasise the benevolent character of ancient Indian kingship.

- 3. Samudragupta's reign marked the gradual elimination of foreign influence on Indian coinage. In the process the Meru symbol of the Sakas was replaced by the Garuda symbol and alien goddesses like Ardoxsho by Durgā and Laksmī. But the adoption of Garuda as the royal emblem by Samudragupta appears to have been motivated by political rather than religious considerations. Garuda, the arch enemy of the serpents (Nāgas) heralded the triumph of the Gupta monarch over the Naga princes10 who were 'uprooted' (unmulya) and 'forcibly extirpated' (prasabhoddharana) by him, in his Āryāvarta campaigns. The goddess Laksmī has never been depicted on the coins of Samudragupta in the company of her consort, Lord Vișnu. In fact, her figure appears to be a replica of Ardoxsho rather than of an Indian goddess. It seems 'Garuda' and 'Laksmī' were yet to make their presence felt as unmistakable constituents of the Vaisnava paraphernalia in Gupta records.
  - 4. Had the epithet 'apratirathaḥ' been a synonym of Lord Viṣṇu, it would have been applied, with greater justification, to the successors of Chandragupta II who, unlike Samudragupta, made themselves publicly known as the devotees of Lord Viṣṇu (Paramabhāgavatas).

The fact is that 'apratirathah' simply means 'one who is without an antagonist' and is indicative of victorious military career of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Since none of the successors of Chandragupta II enjoyed unchallenged and unbroken supremacy over their rivals, this epithet was quietly dropped out of official usage during the reign of their successors.

<sup>10.</sup> Compare—Narapatibhujagānām mānadarpotphaṇānām Pratikṛtigarudājāām nirvishīm chāvakartā—Junagargh Inscription.

5. That 'apratirathah' or 'chāpratirathah' simply meant 'one who is without an antagonist' is borne out by numerous literary sources. For instance, the Mahābhārata describes Duṣyanta as chāpratirathah¹¹¹ in this sense.

If we were to take 'svayam chāpratirathaḥ' as meaning 'the very incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, in the case of Chandragupta II, as suggested by Dr. Chhabra, it would ill fit in his description of 'paramabhāgavata'. For he could not be described as the Bhagavān and the Bhakta in the same breath.

<sup>11.</sup> Tam chāpratirathaļ śrīmānāśramam pratyapadyata Devalokapratīkāśam sarvaṭaḥ sumanoharam—Ādi, 70, 23.

## The Impact of Ultra-Leftism on the Communist Party of India, 1928-36

BY

#### CONRAD WOOD

Prefatory Note

This article attempts to demonstrate the adverse impact of 'leftist' tactics on the work and fortunes of the C.P.I. from 1928 to 1936, 'leftism' being defined in terms of Leninist orthodoxy.

Since C.P.I. leftism consisted in this period largely in a negative attitude to the Indian national movement, the C.P.I.'s relations with Congress constitute a central concern of the article. The C.P.I.'s failure in the tradeunion movement in 1929–32 is shown to have been basically a result not only of the Party's leftism in general but also of C.P.I. antagonism to the national movement in particualr.

#### Abbreviations

A.I.T.U.C. : All-India Congress Committee.
A.I.T.U.C. : All-India Trade-Union Congress

A.I.W.P.P. : All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.

B.P.C.C. : Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

Comintern : Communist International.

C.P.I. : Communist Party of India.

C.P.S.U. : Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

C.S.P. : Congress Socialist Party.

E.C.C.I. : Executive Committee of the Communist International.

G. of I.

INC.

G. of I.

Government of India.

Indian National Congress.

Inprecor
P.P.T.U.S.
International Press Correspondence.
Proc.:
Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Profintern : See 'R.I.L.U.'.
Red TIIC : Ded Trade-IIr

RILIT : Red Trade-Union Congress.

U.P. : Red International of Labour Unions.

W.P.P ': United Provinces.

: Workers' and Peasants' Party.

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"The transfer of state power from one class to another class is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a revolution, ... "1

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A long-term aim of all Communist Parties is to achieve a socialist society through 'proletarian' or 'socialist' revolution of which the transfer of state power from the previous ruling class to the proletariat is the essence. However in 1905 Lenin had stressed the conditions on which the accomplishment of such an aim was contingent. Since like all Marxists he was convinced that "the emancipation of the workers can only be brought about by the workers themselves";2 he had said, referring to his own country, but at the same time laying down principles applicable to all countries in which capitalist development was still rudimentary:

"The present degree of economic development of Russia objective condition) and the degree of class consciousness and organisation of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition indissolubly connected with the objective condition) make the immediate, complete emancipation of the working class [through the socialist revolution] impossible."3

Thus, outside the developed capitalist world, Communist Parties were set the task of helping establish the preconditions for socialist revolution by, paradoxically, working for the acceleration of capitalist development. As Lenin put it:

"The idea of seeking salvation for the working class in anything save the further development of capitalism is reactionary. In countries like Russia, the working class suffers not so much from capitalism as from lack of capitalist development .... The removal of all the remnants of the old order which are hampering the wide, free and speedy development of capitalism is of absolute advantage to the working class."4

But further, since the "bourgeois revolution is precisely the revolution which most resolutely sweeps away the survivals of the past .... a revolution which most fully guarantees the widest,

<sup>1.</sup> Lenin, 'Letters on Tactics', first published April 1917, Selected Works Vol. VI, 33. Throughout stress is in the original.

<sup>2. &#</sup>x27;Two Tactics of Social Democracy', Selected Works, Vol. III, 52.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., 75.

# ULTRA-LEFTISM AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA 351

freest and speediest development of capitalism" it follows that in 'backward' countries "the bourgeois revolution is in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat."5

The political implications are of the greatest importance. If the 'bourgeois revolution is absolutely necessary in the interests of the proletariat," then the way would seem open for cooperation between political representatives of bourgeois interests (as Marxists regard the Indian National Congress for example) and Communist Parties in the fight to effect such a revolution. Such cooperation in the struggle to complete the tasks of the bourgeois or 'national democratic' revolution would be collaboration directed against two enemies: those forces representing autocratic, precapitalist society (such as the princes and great landowners of India) — the 'democratic' aspect of the revolution, and those representing obstacles to the establishment of an independent 'nationstate' whose market the 'national bourgeoisie' can exploit for itself (in India, notably, British rule) — the 'national' aspect of the revolution.

Of course both Communists and the bourgeoisie would be collaborating against common enemies only out of self-interest. Indeed, Lenin stressed that the joint struggle against 'feudalism' and imperialism was necessary preparation for the proletarian, anti-bourgeois revolution:

"The more complete, determined and consistent the bourgeois revolution is, the more secure will the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and for socialism become."8

Thus whilst cooperation with the national bourgeoisie might be necessary to defeat 'feudalism' and imperialism a "Social-Democrat9 must never.... forget that the proletarian class struggle for socialism against the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is inevitable." A tactical con-

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<sup>5.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7.</sup> See for example ibid., 99: "the national character of the democratic revolution".

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>9.</sup> This was written in the pre-First World War period when Marxists had not yet rejected the label 'Social-Democrat.'

sequence was 'the absolute necessity of a separate, independent and strictly class party of Social-Democracy." <sup>10</sup>

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Such organisational independence of the Communists was seen as necessary also because, paradoxically, the bourgeoisie was regarded as less reliable in executing 'its own' revolution than the proletariat. As Lenin claimed:

"It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie if the bourgeois revolution .... is not fully consistent, if it is not determined and ruthless .... if the necessary bourgeois-democratic changes take place ... by means of reforms and not by means of revolution ... if these reforms develop as little as possible the revolutionary initiative .... of the common people, .... for otherwise it will be easier for the workers .... to turn the guns which the bourgeois revolution will place in their hands the liberty which the revolution will bring, the democratic institutions which will spring up on the ground that will be cleared of feudalism, against the bourgeoisie .... The very position the bourgeoisie as a class occupies in capitalist society inevitably causes it to be inconsistent in the democratic revolution. The very position the proletariat as a class occupies compels it to be consistently democratic. geoisie looks behind, is afraid of democratic progress which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but by means of democracy it has the whole world to win.11

The organisational independence of Communists from the bourgeos national democratic movement was therefore necessary not only because of the inevitable eventual struggle for power between the two but also because of the immediate need for Communists to combat the bourgeoisie's irresolution in pursuing its own revolution.

Since the vacillating attitude of the bourgeoisie towards the bourgeois revolution was a consequence of the appearance of the proletariat on the stage of history, the further the development of the working class in numbers, class-consciousness and organisation, the more unreliable an ally the bourgeoisie was liable to

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid., 75-7.

become. Thus in 1913 Lenin had contrasted the situation in Europe where "the commanding bourgeoisie, fearing the growth and increasing strength of the protetariat" had betrayed the democratic revolution and was supporting "everything backward, moribund and medieval," with that in Asia where the "bourgeoisie . . . . is as yet siding with the people against reaction."12

This favourable estimate of the chances of the Asian bourgeoisie playing a significant role in the national democratic revolution tound further expression in the preliminary theses on the national and colonial questions prepared by Lenin for the Second Comintern Congress in 1920:

"In regard to more backward states and nations .... all the Communist Parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries."13

At the same time Lenin's conviction that in time the colonial porletariat must conduct the socialist revolution against bourgeois resistance led him to declare that Communist support for "the bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries" should be "only on the condition that the elements of future proletarian parties existing in all backward countries, which are not merely Communist in name, shall be grouped together and trained to appreciate their special tasks, viz., the tasks of fighing the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations." Thus the tactics Lenin had outlined in 1905 were reaffirmed as follows:

"The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its rudimentary form."14

The two basic 'deviations' from this position are the 'ultraleftist' and the 'rightist'. The former denies the necessity for collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the fight for national democra-

14. Ibid., 237.

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<sup>12. &#</sup>x27;Backward Europe & Advanced Asia', The Awakening of Asia, 26.

<sup>13.</sup> Lenin, 'Preliminary Draft Theses on the National & Colonial Questions', Selected Works, Vol. X, 236.

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tic revolution. The latter rejects the ideas that whilst the Communists are marching "side by side with the revolutionary and republican bourgeoisie," such a march should be "without merging with it," and that of "the provisional character of our tactics to 'strike together' with the bourgeoisie and the duty to carefully watch [sic] 'our ally as if he were an enemy." "16

At the Second Comintern Congress the leftist deviation marked the contributions of Indian Marxist neophyte M. N. Roy. The main thrust of Roy's arguments was that support for bourgeois nationalist movements would contradict the interests of the colonial masses, and therefore the development of the revolutionary movement. Thus the minutes of the proceedings of the Comintern colonial commission record that Roy had asserted that 'the revolutionary movement in India, in as much as the broad masses are concerned, has nothing in common with the national liberation movement'17 whilst in the original draft of his 'Supplementary Theses on the National & Colonial Question'18 he had claimed that "colonial bourgeois democratic movements" and "revolutionary mass action through the medium of a communist–party" were "two contradictory forces; they cannot develop together." 19

Roy's "leftism" did not go unchallenged. The minutes of the proceedings of the colonial commission<sup>20</sup> record criticism by

- 15. 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy', op. cit., 71.
- 16. Ibid., 100. Haithcox (Communism and Nationalism in India, 15) in attempting to distinguish between the Leninist and the 'ultra-left' Royist positions at the Second Comintern Congress, seems unconsciously to attribute a 'rightist' deviation to Lenin when he says that Roy was "Less trustful of the national bourgeoisie than Lenin". The above quotation hardly suggests Lenin was in any way 'trustful' of the national bourgeoisie.
- 17. Adhikari, Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India, Vol. 1, 162. Adhikari states that these minutes are preserved in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in the U.S.S.R. and that a Soviet scholar, A. Reznikov quotes from them in two articles in Kommunist, the theoretical organ of the C.P.S.U.
- 18. Roy (in his *Memoirs*, 380-1) states that Lenin, on discovering his disagreement with the preliminary theses, suggested that he draft his own alternative" theses. A photostat of Roy's original draft appears in Adhikari, op. cit., 173-7.
  - 19. Adhikari, op. cit., 177 & 188.
  - 20. Ibid., 162-3.

Lenin and British Communist Quelch of Roy's negative attitude to bourgeois national movements, whilst Lenin heavily amended Roy's draft supplementary theses, excising the more extreme leftist formulations (including that quoted above).21

In fact, the 'Theses on the National and Colonial Questions' which the Congress finally adopted corresponded closely to Lenin's preliminary theses. One important change was made however. In the colonial commission's report Lenin explained that as a result of that body's discussions "we unanimously decided to speak of the nationalist-revolutionary22 movement instead of the 'bourgeois-democratic' movement."23

Overstreet and Windmiller have claimed: "It was clear that to Lenin's mind the change was more apparent that real, for he declared in the debate, "There is no doubt that every nationalist movement can be only a bourgeois-democratic movement.'24

Lenin, as a Marxist, was certainly convinced that "every nationalist movement can be only a bourgeois-democratic movement," but this was not to say also that "every bourgeoisdemocratic movement can be only a nationalist-revolutionary movement"as would have to be the case for the change to be "more apparent than real." In fact, the significance of the change was explained by Lenin in his report as follows:

"It was argued that if we speak about the bourgeois-democratic movement all distinction between reformist and revolutionary movements will be obliterated; whereas in recent times this distinction has been fully and clearly revealed in the backward and colonial countries . . . . A certain rapprochement has been brought about between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and those of the colonial countries, so that very often, even in the

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<sup>21.</sup> Ibid., 173-7, 178-88.

<sup>22.</sup> In some translations (e.g. that in Degras, Communist International, Vol. I, 139-44) this in fact appears in the adopted Theses as 'revolutionary liberation'. liberation'. The difference is, of course, not significant.

<sup>23.</sup> Selected Works, Vol. X, 240.

<sup>24.</sup> Communism in India, 29.

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majority of cases, perhaps, where the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries does support the national movement, it simultaneously works in harmony with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e, it joins the latter in fighting against all the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes .... The meaning of this change is that we Communists should, and will, support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonial countries only when these movements are really revolutionary, when the representatives of these movements do not hinder us in training and organising the peasants and the broad masses of the exploited in a revolutionary spirit."25

Overstreet and Windmiller's assumption that Lenin believed all bourgeois-democratic movements were revolutionary (and therefore should be supported) is shown here to be erroneous. Lenin plainly believed some bourgeois democratic movements were revolutionary whilst others were reformist and that only the former should be supported.<sup>26</sup>

25. Selected Works, Vol. X, 241.

26. Support for bourgeois reformist movements would clearly have been regarded by Lenin as rightism. Like Haithcox (see above 6) what Overstreet and Windmiller, in the above passage and elsewhere, often assume as the Leninist position is in fact what Lenin himself would have dismissed as rightism. An important consequence is that formulations which in reality are orthodox Leninism are mistaken for leftism. Thus referring to the C.P.I.'s 1930 'Draft Programme of Action' (see below, 34) as "a leftist document from beginning to end" (op. cit., 145) Overstreet and Windmiller quote as an example of this programme's leftism a passage listing as some of the "main objects of the present stage of revolution":

"The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, churches, the British Government, officials and money lenders, and handing over for use to the toiling peasantry. Cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to money lenders and banks'." (Ibid., 146).

Such tasks are essentially those of the bourgeois 'national democratic' revolution. They are directed against both imperialism (the British Government and officials) and 'feudalism' (landlords and moneylenders, ruling princes and churches). The handing over of the property of such elements to the peasantry would in itself promote capitalism not socialism. The ending of "slave agreements" and peasant indebtedness would do likewise.

Of course the Indian bourgeoisie might well resist pressing the bourgeois revolution to such lengths, but Lenin was quite explicit that an essential task of Communist Parties was to agitate for the most thorough-going bour

But if colonial bourgeois liberation movements were to be supported only when they were revolutionary rather than reformist what criterion was available for distinguishing between the two tendencies? For Marxists<sup>27</sup> the distinctive feature of a revolution is the "transfer of state power form one class to another class." Thus a colonial bourgeois democratic movement of the revolutionary type would be one objectively promoting transfer of state power from the imperialist bourgeoisie to an indigenous class, whilst a reformist movement would be one content to leave the existing power structure basically unchanged, working merely for the advance of the native bourgeoisie under the class rule of foreign capitalism.

This being so, in India the prospect of Communist support for Congress action against British imperialism and its allies seemed increasingly bright. The Second Comintern Congress occurred during a period when what for Marxists was India's most important political expression of bourgeois interests, the Indian National Congress, was passing increasingly into the hands of militants who were willing to take actions which directly threatened the duration of British rule. Indeed the year of the Comintern Congress was also that of the adoption of the I.N.C. Nagpur constitution, changing the aim from self-government within the Empire to swaraj, a change indicative of the rapid (though still incomplete) transformation of Congress into the type of organisation capable of undertaking actions objectively furthering revolution in the Marxist sense.

Nor did it seem likely in 1920 that Communist-Congress cooperation would fail to materialise because of the absence of favourable response from Congress. Even before the Comintern Congress Communist attitudes to imperialism had attracted attention from Indian nationalism. At the time of the Treaty of Versailles Indian nationalist K. P. Khadilkar had written in

geois revolution possible. In the above passage the 1930 document does just

The C.P.I. 'Draft Pragramme of Action' (as is emphasised below, 34) certainly was a leftist document. The above passage quoted from it by tent with Leninism.

27. See above, 2.

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Kesari that President Wilson could not take credit for putting forward the slogan of a peace without annexations and indemnities since "Lenin did it more than two years ago."23 On, 20 July 1920 Kesari even claimed in an editorial on Soviet foreign policy that "the only devotees of the principle of self-determination are the Bolsheviks."29 With Tilak in 1919 having stated30 that the Bol shevik revolution was found to be a favourable factor in the struggle for swaraj and Gandhi in the same year retorting to British suggestions for Congress's co-operation against Bolshevisn with: "I have never believed in a Bolshevik menace,"31 the possible obstacle32 to Communist-bourgeois cooperation of the political representatives of the colonial bourgeoisie joining with imperialism "in fighting against all the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes" seemed in the case of contemporary India unlikely.

Of course not everything in the attitudes of Indian nationalists to the Communist movement favoured smooth progress towards cooperation. It was the policy of the Raj to play on the 'dangers' to India from Communism,33 propaganda which it must be assumed had its effect on (especially) the propertied elements in Congress. However by 1919-20 at least some influential Congress men had come to believe that Communism did not amount to the threat to Indian nationalism the British represented it as, and others that it might be an asset in the struggle against imperialism To what extent Indian Communism could capitalise on this favourable situation depended on the fortunes of leftism in the movement

29. Ibid., 26.

32. See Lenin's suggestion above, 8.

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<sup>28.</sup> Quoted in Sardesai, India and the Russian Revolution, 21.

<sup>30.</sup> According to a Scotland Yard Report on Tilak in London, mentioned in Adhikari, op. cit., 277.

<sup>31.</sup> Quoted in Zafar Imam, 'The Effects of the Russian Revolution of India, 1917-1920', St. Anthony Papers, No. 18, 90.

<sup>33.</sup> Thus, for example, Hallett, Secretary to Government of India (herein after G. of I.). Home Department, told all the Local Governments in India on 16 May 1934: "The Government of India .... attach great importance w persistent propaganda against communism which they hope may prove effective means both of checking the movement and of keeping the subject continually before those whom communism threatens." (F/7/11/34—Political Communism (F/7/11/34 P/83). An example of such propaganda was the 'Assembly Letter' (set

Even after the opposition to Roy at the Second Comintern Congress leftism was not entirely eliminated from the theses adopted on the colonies. The colonial commission adopted34 not only Lenin's amended preliminary theses but also Roy's supplementary theses. Despite Lenin's cuts thesis 7 still spoke of "two distinct movements .... the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and .... the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation," which, claimed Roy, "every day grow further further apart."35

Moreover Roy, who during much of the 1920s was entrusted by the Comintern with the task of nurturing the embryonic Indian Communist movement, apparently did not totally abandon leftism. In 1922 he described "the development of indigenous capitalism" as "a force promising to be rather an ally of the imperialist power than a power working for the revolution"36 whilst at the Fifth Comintern Congress (1924), Manuilsky had alleged:

"As at the Second Congress" Roy had "exaggerated the social movement in the colonies to the detriment of the nationalist movement."37

Even so, despite periodic manifestations of lingering allegiance to leftism, Roy, during his period of influence over the Indian Communism, generally guided it along the Leninist lines of 1920. In fact in a letter to Indian Communist Dange (19 December 1922) Roy applied Lenin's tactics to India by pressing for the formation of an illegal Communist Party (thus satisfying the need for independent political organisation of the proletariat), and for the establishment of a 'front' organisation to operate within Congress to fight the compromising tendency and develop the revolutionary trend in bourgeois nationalism. As the letter put it:

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<sup>34.</sup> See Lenin's Report, Selected Works, Vol. X, 239.

<sup>35.</sup> Adopted text of Roy's supplementary theses, in Adhikari, op. cit., 185.

<sup>36.</sup> In the preface to the German edition of his India in Transition quoted in Ibid., 364.

<sup>37.</sup> Quoted in Haithcox, op. cit., 39.

"The time has come for the organisation of our party in India ... A revolutionary mass party has to be organised as a part of the Congress, but this party must be under the control and direction of our own party which cannot but be illegal."38

The 'front organisation' within Congress eventually took the form of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. The first was formed originally as the 'Labour Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress' on 1 January 1925.39 Indian Communist Muzaffar Ahmad who played a leading role in this party claims40 that its founders,41 though influenced by Communism, took their initiative independently of Roy and the Comintern.

The only other major W. & P.P., that of Bombay, emerged when "a group of .... Nationalists, having failed to obtain acceptance of their ideas by the Indian National Congress formed a Workers' and Peasants' Party."42 This is confirmed by Indian Communist S. V. Ghate's statement before the Sessions Judge in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in which he claimed that the Bombay W. & P.P.'s origin is to be found in what is known as the Congress Labour Group - the left section of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and which transformed itself into a WPP."4

However independent of the Comintern the initiators of the W. & P.P.s were,44 it is clear that Communists played the key rôle

38. Adhikari, op. cit., 593 and 595.

39 'The Report of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' and Work ers' Party of Bengal, 1927-28', 42. This report is item p. 52 in the Proceedings of the Meerut Conspiracy Case. The name of the Labour Swaraj Party was changed first to the 'Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal', and later to the 'Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal', Muzafar Ahmad, The Communist Party of India and its Formation Abroad, 153.

, 40. Op. cit., 153.

- 41. Qazi Nazrul Islam, Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, Qutubuddin Ahmad and Shamsuddin Hossain, ibid.
- 42. White Report on Labour Situation issued by the Bombay Government, 1929, Appendix B, quoted in Punekar, Trade Unionism in India, 93.
  - 43. Quoted in Adhikari, 'Comrade S. V. Ghate', New Age, 6 December
- 44. That Communists played the key role in forming the Bombay party seems clear from the statement of Mirajkar (a leading Bombay Communist at this time) that "we Communists decided to organise a socialist group

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in these parties. As Ahmad puts it 45 members of the C.P.I. were their "life and soul." Thus the statements of the W. & P.Ps. can be taken as expressing the Indian Communist standpoint during the period immediately after 1925.

In the political resolution of the March 1928 conference of the W. & P.P. of Bengal, the adherence of Indian Communists to a tactical position far from leftism was made clear:

"We and our sympathisers must become members of the provincial and All-Indian Congress Committees, and take active part in such work as leads towards the development of the mass movement. We must suppport the Congress while it fights Imperialism, but must not hesitate to criticise the compromising tendencies of Congress leaders however prominent. The alliance of the Party with the petty-bourgeois 'left' of the Congress must be consolidated, on the basis of direct action for complete independence, against the compromising bourgeois leadership."46

In 1928 the chances of such a Communist-Left nationalist alliance with the object of forcing a revolutionary confrontation with the Raj appeared good. Jawaharlal Nehru, who "fresh from his internationalist and communist connexions in Europe"47 had persuaded the 1927 Madras Congress session to pass a number of extreme anti-imperialist resolutions, was merely the most notable of a new generation of prominent Congressmen who, during the fight against the Simon Commission, were to help push Congress towards a degree of militancy not seen since 1921-22.

Thus, of the 1928 Calcutta Congress session, Viceroy Irwin commented:

"There is no doubt that the Congress was a great triumph for extremism .... independence has ceased to be an academic ideal oit appears that Jawaharlal Nehru and .... Bose do not mean to

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in the Congress itself .... In a few months this group was transformed into the Workers' & Peasants' Party." See his essay in Communist Party of India of India, S. V. Ghate, 33.

<sup>45.</sup> Op. cit., 154.

<sup>46.</sup> Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, A Call to Action, p. 9. 47. Haig. Secretary to G. of I., Home Dept., to Hirtzel, Under-Secretary of State. 19 January 1928, L/PJ/6/1955, 365/28.

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stop at words but are prepared for action .... Their present policy .... is to spend the coming year in preparation for rousing anti-government feeling in every way possible, foster in their own words a revolutionary mentality .... the situation has swung; good deal to the left and contains considerable potentialities of future trouble."48

Even Congressmen not of the 'Left' had already indicated the perception of common interest between Indian nationalism ar Communism during the Assembly debate on the Public Safet (Removal from India) Bill49 which "was especially directed against British Communists, Spratt and Bradley,50 who had bee sent to India to assist the movement there. Thus Lajpat Rai ha claimed the Bill was "really directed against Indians themselves Nationalists as well as Labourites" and that it would be "utilise" for the purpose of prosecuting Nationalists and others who wan Indian economic advance and political freedom." According to 'Left' Congressman Jamnadas Mehta Communists were "quite prepared to work with [nationalists] in the task of achieving India independence" and, he said, Congressmen welcomed Communis policy "to that extent."51 Thus by early 1929 the Raj was noting "a tendency for the political and the Communist revolutionarie to join hands."52

Such a tendency was one which those concerned with preserving British rule in India were on the alert against. Petric head of Indian Intelligence, had in 1927 noted that "the hatred of British rule which animates both will always serve to establish a certain identity of interest between the Indian extremist and

50. Irwin to Hailey (Governor of U.P.) 28 September 1928, Hailey Coller tion, Vol. 13; 494.

51. Official Report of Legislative Assembly Debates, 12 September 1928, 825 in L/PJ/6/1967, 4259 & 4260/28.

<sup>48.</sup> Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. 2558), 19 January 1929 L/PJ/6/1976

<sup>49.</sup> The Bill was introduced to provide for the removal from British of States in India". L/PJ/6/1967, 3788/28.

<sup>52.</sup> Haig to all local Governments (secret letter No. D342), 21 Februar 1929, L/PJ/6/1976, 792/29. This was reiteration of a view expressed of footnote 48).

the Bolshevik agent-predisposing the one to accept assistance and the other to render it."53

During the Public Safety Bill debates Home Member Crerar tried to check any tendency for nationalists to make common cause with Communism against Government by quoting from the 'Assembly Letter' such choice passages as:

"The banal and cowardly doctrine of bourgeois nationalism that all our activities are above board, we have nothing to hide."54

Crerar attempted to point a lesson:

"No one can suppose .... that any form of Nationalism in India or elsewhere will profit by [Communist doctrines] .... I contend and I contend very strongly that in this matter the interests of India and of Britain are identical."55

One especial fear was that Communism, which at this time seemed to be "a movement which acts so powerfully on the masses" would not be ignored, for "the immediate assistance they may derive" from it, by "those Nationalists who for the attainment of their ends look to the sanction of force."56 Whilst Communism was felt to be "one of the most dangerous forms of direct appeal to the masses," the extremist leaders had, Government believed, "hitherto achieved no appreciable success with the masses."57

The source of these astounding testimonials of the potency of Communism as a force to mobilise the masses was its significant

53. G. of I., India and Communism, (hereinafter referred to as 'India & Communism'), 23.

54. This letter was alleged to have been written by Roy to Muzaffar Ahmad and intercepted by the police, ibid., 130...In August 1928 the Raj decided it would be desirable to "publish material about Communist plans", and "M. N. Roy's letter" was "an important part of that material". Viceroy to Secretary of State, (tel. No. 499-S), 11 August 1928. Halifax Collection, Vol. 9, 136. The letter became known as the 'Assembly Letter' after Crerar's use of it in this debate. 'Roy' was referring here to the necessity for illegal Communist Party organisation.

55. Official Report of Legislative Assembly Debates, 10 September 1928, 448 in L/PJ/6/1967, 4259/28.

56. Haig's secret letter No. D 342, see above 52.

57. Haig to all local Governments (secret letter No. D. 342/29), 24 June 1929, L/PJ/6/1976, 2585/29.

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advance among the Bombay proletariat in 1927-29. Up to this time Communism had made such little progress in this city, which was one of the two major centres of Communist activity,58 that Wilson, Governor of Bombay since 1923, could speak in 1928 (not without exaggeration however) of the "Communist element" as "making now, so far as Bombay is concerned, its first most unwelcome appearance."59

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The Communists' advance took place because they provided the most effective leadership of millhands faced with the adverse consequence to their living standards of the "very bad"60 economic situation in their industry.

With the end of boom conditions in 1922, the industry had "entered .... a period of fundamental difficulties," since "steadily expanding competition from Japanese producers and mills elsewhere in India forced considerable readjustment and adaptation during the next decade and a half."61 In 1927 the Tariff Board, after examining the industry's request for production, had told it that "because of the weakened competitive position of the Bombay mills the 'only alternative to a reduction in wages is increased labour efficiency" and "recommended greater standardisation of work and more rational labour deployment."62

However when the millowners tried to introduce the new recommended methods which, as Rainy (member of the Viceroy's Executive Council) put it, were "likely to result in reduction of numbers emloyed"63 a five and a half month strike ensued.64

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<sup>58.</sup> See the testimony of Irwin in Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 927-S), 27 February 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 15, 52, and Petrie to Hailey (Confidential Letter No. 16/Bol 29-Kw-IV), Hailey Collection, Vol. 16a, 44. The other centre was Calcutta.

<sup>59.</sup> Wilson to Irwin, 12 May 1928, Halifax Collection, Vol. 22, 432.

<sup>60.</sup> Wilson to Irwin, 28 April 1928, Halifax Collection, Vol. 22, 408. 61. M. D. Morris, The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India, 30.

<sup>62.</sup> Ibid., 121-2.

<sup>63.</sup> Telegram to Irwin, 26 April 1928, enclosure in Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 135-C), 28 April 1928, Halifax Collection, Vol. 9, 66. 64. Sykes Governor of Bombay to Irwin, 26 January 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 23, 112b.

The Bombay Communists, gaining from the trade-union experience and moral support from the activities65 of British Communist Bradley, found it easy to win leadership of the millhands from the 'moderate' union leaders 'who for years had failed to secure the establishment of a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the employers towards the workmen."66 The impact of the Communist organisation of the Bombay labour movement is implied in the observation67 that "until 1928" the "qualities characteristic of virtually all strikes" were "unrest without discipline" and "strike without organisation."68

Nor were such Communist efforts confined to the Bombay mills. According to British Intelligence, "[by] the end of 1928 .... there was hardly a single public utility service or industry which had not been affected, in whole or in part, by the wave of Communism which swept the country during the year."69 Moreover by April 1928 the Communists had "not only secured a voice in the control of the [labour] movement, but had obtained-particularly in Bombay - a definite hold over the workers themselves."70 In the course of the 1928 textile strike the famous Girni Kamgar Union was formed with Communist leadership. In a few months its registered membership climbed from 174 to 54,000.71 As Bradley wrote in an intercepted letter of 2 February 1929, "the mill workers .... are with the G.K.U. .... We have .... got the support of the workers to such an extent that even

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<sup>65.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66.</sup> This the estimate of B. N. Mitra, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a note of 16 April 1930, enclosure in Viceroy to Secretary of State, 23 April 1930, Halifax Collection, Vol 6, 85. Irwin minuted: "I think the views he expressed are generally sound", ibid, 81.

<sup>67.</sup> Morris, op. cit., 182.

<sup>68.</sup> This is confirmed by the Raj's Intelligence Bureau which observed "the enormous increase in the influence and powers of organisation of the working classes under Communist direction" (the references was to India in general, though to Calcutta in particular) in this period, India & Communism, 127.

<sup>69.</sup> Ibid., 126. 70. Ibid., 117.

<sup>71.</sup> See union membership records in L/E/7/1347, 1827/30 and 1693/30. Though the reliability of these actual figures may not be great there is no doubt the reliability of these actual figures may not be great there is no doubt that the order of the membership rise is correct.

N. M. Joshi<sup>72</sup> told me he thought to be impossible, well over 60,000 members and a big fighting fund."<sup>73</sup>

Thus by December 1928 participation in the national movement, along with the British Communist-supported74 initiative in assuming a key position in the labour movement, had placed Indian Communism on the crest of a wave. Their policy towards nationalism had helped create for the C.P.I. a rewarding situation in which leading Bombay journals such as the Bombay Chronicle were displaying "pro-communist sympathies" and setting up "the Soviet regime of Russia as an attractive alternative to British "vaguely imagined in extreme nationalist Rule" since it was circles that because the Communists desire to destroy the foundations of British power .... therefore their doctrines are to be encouraged in India."75 Moreover, Communists had come to hold positions of importance in Congress, getting themselves elected to the A.I.C.C.76 and controlling the Bombay Porvincial Congress Committee.77

The turn of the year in fact, saw three notable successes for Indian Communism. At the Jharia session of the All-India Trade Union Congress in December 1928, the affiliation of the A.I.T.U.C. to the League against Imperialism was achieved when the Raj

72. A long standing 'moderate' union leader, C.W.

73. Quoted in Peel to Irwin, 27 February 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 5, 43.

74. Philip Spratt and Ben Bradley were the two main foreign Communists operating in India at this time.

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75. Note by Coatman, Director of Public Information: enclosure with Irwin to Lambert, Governor of U.P., 23 March 1929, Hailey Collection, Vol. 15a, 35. This estimate of the favourable attitude to Communism shown by important sections of the nationalist press (even to the extent of reprinting articles from Inprecor, organ of the Comintern) is supported by G. of I Communism in India, 27 and 39.

76. India & Communism, 127 and Ahmad, Communist Party of India: Years of Formation, 41.

77. See for example Mirajkar's essay on Communist Party of India op. cit., 33, in which he states that at one stage the Communists had a majority on the B.P.C.C. and also held the secretaryship. Communist control of the B.P.C.C. at this time is confirmed in a speech by S. K. Patil H/3717 25 March 1931, L/PJ/7/78, 1847/31

again promoted cooperation between Communists and non-Communists by arresting the fraternal delegate from the League to the A.I.T.U.C. session. According to Irwin the delegates voted for affiliation in a "moment of pique"78 and the capture of the A.I. T.U.C. by the militants (among whom the Communists were a compact, well-disciplined group,79) was only "narrowly averted."80

In the same month 30,000 labourers organised by the Calcutta Communists and with banners demanding a Soviet India made a big impact on the annual Congress session.81 Moreover, in January four candidates in the Bombay municipal elections, representing the first time Communists had participated in any Indian election, and pressing as one of their demands complete independence, polled a respectable total of 12,453 votes.82

Even so, Communist success had been registered almost solely in the labour movement via Communist-dominated unions such as the G.K.U. and in the political movement via the W. & P.Ps., and 'united front' tactics had tended to become a substitute for the task of organising a strong independent C.P.I., instead of these being seen as complementary tasks as laid down by Lenin in 1920. Clemens Dutt, Indian Communism's mentor at this time, had complained that the C.P.I. and W. & P.P. were "becoming too much two names for the same thing."83 In fact, practically all

- 78. Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 1021-S), 8 March 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 15, 57.
  - 79. Bose, The Indian Struggle, 154.
- 80. 8 March 1929 telegram, Viceroy to Secretary of State, see above. footnote 1.
- 81. India & Communism. 127; 19 January 1929 telegram, Viceroy to Secretary of State (see above, 14); Ahmad, Myself and the Communist Party of India, 433 ..
- 82. Roy, 'Indian Communists in the Electoral Struggle', Inprecor, No. 12, 202, 1 March 1929. Roy pointed out that although the electorate excluded almost the whole working-class, the Communists polled only a little less than what would have been the average vote per candidate if the whole electorate (of 600,000) had voted and the votes shared equally between the 145 candidates. dates. Two of the Communists were beaten by the only 146 and 227 votes, heirs being at the head of the unsuccessful candidates in their respective districts.

83. India & Communism, 129.

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activity was undertaken through the W. & P.P., 84 so that in 1929 Irwin could justly say that in India there was "no regular communist party on lines of British organisation of that name."85 Such neglect was to assume significance in the period of the turn towards leftism heralded by the Sixth Comintern Congress. 86

Like Roy's leftism of 1920, the new leftism originated in an over-estimation of the degree of political development of the colonial proletariat, resulting in sectarian emphasis on the development of the Communist movement in contradiction to the need to cultivate cooperation with bourgeois nationalism. In view of the widely-known criticism of Roy's position in 1920 it was hardly possible for the new leftism to take the form of the simple straight denial of common interest between the Communist and national movements Roy had made then. Instead a fresh theoretical basis was sought for the new leftism.

That the national bourgeoisie tended to become less resolute towards the bourgeois revolution as the proletariat became a political factor of increasing importance was a firmly-established Marxist contention. The new leftism argued however that the development of the colonial proletariat had recently occurred at such a pace, within a wider revolutionary mass movement, that the national bourgeoisie was abandoning the revolution altogether and becoming counter-revolutionary. From such an analysis the conclusion was drawn that proletarian hegemony in the revolution was on the agenda since the bourgeoisie was finally revealing its betrayal of that revolution to the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses.

The period of the 1928 (Sixth) Comintern Congress saw the first moves towards such a position by the international Communist movement. Before the Congress, which began in July, the Draft Pro-

<sup>84.</sup> Thus although the four candidates in the Bombay election were said by Roy to be well-known as Communists, they contested the election in the name of the W. & P. P. See Roy's article in Inprecor, 1 March 1929.

<sup>85.</sup> Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 1176-S), 22 March 1929, Halfian

<sup>86.</sup> An investigation of the complex of factors which resulted in this turn to leftism is beyond the scope of this article.

gramme of the Communist International,87 declared that the "revolutionary tendency" in the colonies was being "temporarily paralysed . A. by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie" which had become "scared by the revolutionary-mass movement." Their "rapprochement with the imperialist powers" was said to lead in the final analysis to "the decline of national bourgeoisie influence among the masses of the people .... and to the creation of favourable conditions for establishing the hegemony of the colonial proletariat in the popular mass struggle for independence."

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But if the colonial bourgeoisie was playing such a treacherous role with regard to national liberation, how was it that for the first time the largest party of the Indian bourgeoisie, Congress, under the influence of its growing left-wing had, at its Madras session adopted a resolution for complete independence? A pre-Sixth Congress report88 interpreted this as "a pseudo-revolutionary formula to be used as a 'threat' against the British government to extract concessions." Taking into consideration "the increased political development of the broad masses" the bourgeoisie was merely playing with revolutionary phrases "for the purpose of getting nearer" to them and "utilising their revolutionary orientation for its reformist policy."89

Thus leftism had led the Comintern to interpret a real advance of the I.N.C. towards revolutionary confrontation with the Rai as a grave menace to the future of the Indian revolution. The bourgeoisie was striving to divert the revolutionary energies of the masses into reformist channels, the improvement of its own position under continued imperialist rule. This scheming bourgeoisie was "so particularly dangerous" because, although they had "not yet finally passed the counter-revolutionary camp," there was "no doubt that they would do so "later on" and meanwhile "their real physiognomy" had "not yet been exposed" in the eyes

<sup>87.</sup> Adopted by the Programme Commission of the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International). It appeared in Inprecor, No. 30, 551-63, 6 June 1928.

<sup>88.</sup> Communist Party of Great Britain, The Communist International between the Fifth and the Sixth World Congresses, 1924-28, Report up to 1 May 1929. 1 May 1928'. This was intended as a pre-Congress discussion document. Referred to hereinafter as 'the pre-Congress report'.

<sup>89.</sup> Ibid., 466-476.

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of the masses. Unless this was achieved "bourgeois national-reformist leadership of the national movement" in the coming revolutionary upsurge would "represent an enormous danger for the revolution."90

The vehicle for such reformist corruption of the revolutionary drive of the masses had been identified by the pre-Congress report as "the Left nationalist elements composed of the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia" whom the bourgeoisie tried to keep under their influence by means of "the independence slogan," By keeping the leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie in its hands, the bourgeoisie was trying "to establish a connection with the upper strata of the proletariat and the peasantry which it hopes to draw into its struggle." It was therefore a task of the C.P.I. "to carry on a consistent struggle against petty-bourgeois influence over the proletariat, employ all means to liberate the backward masses of the peasantry from the influence of the petty-bourgeois parties and to win from them the hegemony over the peasantry." 92

Of course in 1920 Lenin had established the necessity for Communists to combat bourgeois reformist tendencies in national movements. However the Comintern was now to advocate that this should be done in India by dissolving the one organisation through which Communists had registered their most notable successes in the political movement.

Thus the Colonial Theses deemed it "absolutely essential" for colonial Communist Parties to "from the very beginning demarcate themselves in the most clear-cut fashion, both politically and organisationally, from all the petty-bourgeois groups and parties." However the Comintern had already made clear its estimate that the "petty-bourgeois origin of the W.P.Ps." of India had made itslef "very much felt in the composition of the parties as well as in their programmes and activity." Consequently, the Colonial

<sup>90. &#</sup>x27;Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies', adopted at the Sixth Comintern Congress and published in *Inpre-*cor, No. 88, 1668, 12 December 1928.

<sup>91.</sup> Communist Party of Great Britain, op. cit., 466-476.

<sup>92.</sup> Colonial Theses, Inprecor, op. cit., 1669. 93. Ibid., 1668.

<sup>94.</sup> Communist Party of Great Britain, op cit., 466-476.

Theses concluded that, "Special 'Workers' and Peasants' Parties' whatever revolutionary character they may possess, can too easily, at particular periods, be converted into ordinary petty-bourgeois parties, and accordingly, Communists are not recommended to organise such parties." 55

Such suicidal defensiveness in the face of the 'petty-bourgeois danger' may seem strange in view of the sanguine Comintern estimate of the degree to which the colonial proletariat had progressed as a political force. However, certainly in India's case, the Comintern was well aware of the weakness of the Communist Party itself at that time. Past neglect of Communist organisation may therefore have been a factor in the Comintern's leftist attack on the W. & P.P.s. However, whatever the reasons, the tendency had reappeared for the task of working within the national movement to be seen as contradictory instead of complementary to that of nurturing the C.P.I.

Moreover, work through the W. & P.P. was not the only C.P.I. activity to be threatened by the Sixth Congress's leftism: the fruitful trade-union work was also placed in jeopardy. Although the Colonial Theses had made "obligatory" Communist work in "the reactionary trade-unions which contain masses of workers," the only type of work specified was "revolutionary propaganda work." The seeds of the later C.P.I. tendency to use unions for revolutionary aims abstracted from the struggle to deal with workers' immediate grievances lay in such advice. Moreover, the Theses went on to say that in "those countries where circumstances dictate the necessity for creating special revolutionary tradeunions.... it is necessary to consult on this question with the leadership of the R.I.L.U."98

95. Op. cit., 1669.

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<sup>96.</sup> See, for example, 'Before the Sixth Congress of the Comintern', Inprecor, No. 31, 566, 7 June 1928 which claimed that the "Indian working class" was "undoubtedly the most important factor" in the "new upsurge in the national movement"

<sup>97.</sup> Thus the pre-Congress report, op. cit., 466-476, had spoken of the Party's inability "to develop into a general Communist Party" and its failure to "show any signs of revolutionary vitality in connection with very important events"

<sup>98.</sup> Op. cit., 1669, R.I.L.U. was the 'Red International of Labour Unions.'

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However, R.I.L.U. chief Lozovsky had specifically advised that in the case of India, where the "national bourgeoisie" was "always ready to compromise with the British bourgoisie against the toiling masses" and "nationalists and home-made reformists" were "at the head of labour organisations," the Communists' main task was the "establishment of independent labour organisations." Lozovsky thus used the new Comintern characterisation of the national bourgeoisie as a force moving rapidly towards collaboration with imperialism against the mass movement as justification for his injunction to Indian Communists to adopt sectarian tactics which were to spell disaster in the labour movement.

The first sign of the C.P.I.'s application of the new leftist line came in December during the first all-India conference of the W & P.P. 100 The thesis the conference adopted spoke of the "consolidation of the whole bourgeois class, on the basis of . . . . the complete acceptance of imperialism .... into a single reactionary bloc" and of the "divergence between the masses and the bourgeoisie" as having "sharpened decisively." The conclusion drawn was that the policy of the W.P.P. working as "a section of the Congress" could "no longer be the situation." At the same time the "traditional policy of forming fractions within Congress organisations for the purpose of agitation, of exposing its reactionary leadership and of drawing the revolutionary sections towards the W.P.P." was recommended as a temporary measure. This was necessary because firstly, the Congress, though "under bourgeois leadership" and "a petty-bourgeois following including different social strata and different political tendencies, some of a potentially revolutionary nature," and secondly, because the W.P.P. was still "relatively weak and unorganised in the country."101 The Comintern might well

<sup>99.</sup> Discussion on Kusinen's report on 'The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies', 37th session of the Sixth Congress, *Inprecor*, No. 76, 1414, 30 October 1928.

<sup>100.</sup> Spratt (Blowing up India, 43) claims that in preparing the these for this conference he took into account what he understood the new Comintern line to be on the basis of press reports.

<sup>101. &#</sup>x27;The Political Situation in India', Thesis of the W.P.P. adopted at the A.I.W.P.P. conference, Calcutta, December 21-24, 1928, reprinted in Labour Monthly, Vol. 11, No. 3, March 1929, 154.

have proffered these as reasons for immediate W.P.P. withdrawal from Congress.102

Of course the very formation of an all-India W.P.P. contravened the injunction against the organisation of such parties. Probably the experienced leaders of the Indian Communists were wary of embracing untempered leftism. Thus it seems significant that a meeting of the leadership after the W.P.P. conference decided103 that the Comintern's Colonial Thesis "should be taken up as a basis" but "changed according to the conditions of India." No doubt this apparent disposition partially to resist Comintern advice . was encouraged by opposition displayed to the new line by Communists holding positions of special influence with the C.P.I.: the British Communists and Roy.

British Communist opposition, especially to the line on the W.P.Ps., had been publicised in the Inprecor reports of the Sixth Congress. 104 But whether or not these reached India at this time, it seems established that British advice in contradiction to the Comintern line did. Thus in November 1928, one of the important Indian communists was advised by Clemens Dutt to recruit more workers to the W.P.P.105

Roy had for some time ceased to be responsible for guiding the C.P.I. Even so his influence on it was probably still significant in late 1928—early 1929. Between 24 August 1928 and 1 February 1929, six articles by Roy in which he maintained a position differing in important respects from the Comintern line appeared in Inprecor. Moreover Ahmad claims that Adhikari, one of the C.P.I. leaders "made no secret of the fact that" he returned to India "as

102. Indeed the pre-Sixth Congress report had said that the "W.P.P. cannot develop into a party of mass national-revolutionary struggle unless it emancipates itself entirely from the influence of bourgeois politics" and that the "main weak point of the W.P.P. is that, in practice, it is acting more as a Left-wing of the Congress than as an independent political party", op. cit., 466-476.

103. According to notes made by one of the participants and later found by the police, quoted in Overstreet & Windmiller, op. cit., 134.

104. See, for example, Clemens Dutt's speech in op. cit. No. 76, 1424, 30 ctober 1000 October 1928, and Declaration of Rothstein, op. cit., No. 81, 1529, 21 November 1928

105. Overstreet & Windmiller, op. cit., 129.

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M. N. Roy's representative,"106 and it may be significant that though Roy had been censured at the Sixth Congress Adhikari claimed in a letter to him (15 March 1929), "Nobody here is making any propaganda against you."107

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Whatever the truth about the exact attitude of the C.P.I. leadership to the Comintern line at this time, it is a recorded fact that even at their next meeting in March 1929 no decision to dissolve the W.P.P. was taken. 108

Any possibility of the C.P.I. avoiding leftism was effectively ended however by the events of the next few months.

On 20 March 1929 almost the whole leadership was arrested and charged with conspiracy. One of the chief objects was to behead the movement by including all leaders of any account . . . . in the case. The C.P.I. found the task of adequately replacing them one of great difficulty, no doubt largely because of the neglect of the Party during the palmy days of 1928. The Even in Bombay, where, exceptionally, other leaders of much the same type the arrested men, they were, not surprisingly, inexperienced and young and not likely to discern the dangers of the developing leftism to be pressed on the C.P.I. with increasing vigour during 1929.

106. Myself and the Communist Party of India, 454. Adhikari had been in Germany. Ahmad adds that Adhikari "got over his illusions .... about Manabendranath Roy", ibid., 455.

107. Quoted in Overstreet & Windmiller, op. cit., 133.

108. This according to notes made at the meeting by a participant. Mentioned in ibid, 134.

109. India & Communism, 135. The case against them was to become famous as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. The action had been recommended as far back as August 1928 (Peel to Irwin, 17 January 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 5, 11) but the material for the case took months to collect.

Vol. 15, 23. The net was thrown so widely that the Governor of Bengal noted: "The arrest of K. L. Ghose ... has caused us some surprise. Even be on the list. He classified him as 10% Communist, not more. However, others". Jackson to Irwin, 23 March 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 23, 302.

111. India & Communism, 180.

112. Haig, secret letter No. D-342/29 of 24 June 1929 (see above, 16).

At the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in July the leftism of the Sixth Congress was pushed to greater extremes. The general consensus was that the Indian bourgeoisie had finally become counter-revolutionary and that the "real national-liberation movement in India was represented not by the last bourgeoisnational congress but by the proletarian mass demonstration against this national congress. Lozovsky spelled out the implications by remarking that since the Indian bourgeoisie was "concentrating now on struggle against Communism" the Sixth Congress decision that temporary agreements with that class might be permissible no longer held. Rather should the C.P.I. adopt "an uncompromising attitude: no agreement whatever, ruthless struggle against the Indian bourgeoisie, because this is now the only way to educate and weld together our still feeble Indian Communist Party." 117

The line was now clear. The advance of the revolution and the C.P.I. was to occur via assault against the bourgeoisie and the Congress. There was now no longer any question of working within that body to strengthen a revolutionary against a reformist tendency; Congress as an organisation was written off as counter-revolutionary. Not surprisingly therefore the Plenum complained about the continued existence of the W.P.P.<sup>118</sup>

Moreover from mid-1929 there was no question of support for any possible deviation from the Comintern line from any source within the international movement. The British Communist posi-

113. Shubin, a current expert on India, attempted to have some of the more extreme formations moderated but was apparently a lone voice. See his contribution to the decussion on the reports of Kuusinen and Manuilsky, Inprecor, No. 51, 1095, 17 September 1929.

114. See 'Theses on the International Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist International', Inprecor No. 46, 975, 4 September 1929 and discussion contribution of Lot-In, Inprecor, No. 51, 1073, 9 July 1929.

115. Report of Kuusinen', Inprecor, No. 40, 846, 20 August 1929.

116. See Colonial Theses adopted at the Sixth Congress, Inprecor, No. 88, 1668, 12 December 1928

117. Lozovsky's discussion contribution, Inprecor, No. 48, 1038.

the W.P.P. formally still existed, its existence as a body of any real importance had ended with the Meerut arrests. Certainly it undertook no work within Congress after March 1929.

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tion on India had changed, with the W.P.P. now seen as no longer fulfilling "the needs of the proletariat". 119 Roy continued strongly to oppose the new leftism and the writing-off of Congress, but had been publicly denounced at the Plenum as a Menshevik 120 and as no longer a "comrade". 121

Under these circumstances the C.P.I. was led further towards lefusm by the new leadership. The strong position that had been built up in the labour movement suffered first.

Believing that they stood at the head of "the growing revolutionary movement" as they had been told by Kuusinen, 122 and that in the past they had "lagged far behind the sentiments of the broad massess", 123 the Indian Communists sought to convert strikes into revolutionary confrontations with Government regardless of the real state of readiness for struggle of the workers. Thus, when in April 1930, sharp discontent appeared among Calcutta carters at new rules imposed on their businesses by Government, Communist leaders of their union vainly called for a general strike by the city's workers. 124

Such tactics virtually destroyed the C.P.I.'s great achievement of 1928, the powerful G.K.U. In April 1929 the new leadership launched the Bombay millhands into an 'anti-victimisation' struggle which Kuusinen<sup>125</sup> described as a "political strike" which was "the revolutionary answer" of the millhands to imperialist machination. In their revolutionary fervour the inexperienced Communist leadership of the G.K.U. had chosen an unfavourable time for

<sup>119.</sup> C. Dutt, 'The Class Struggle in India', Labour Monthly, Vol. 11, No. 1, July 1929, 408.

<sup>120.</sup> By Lozovscky, op cit., 1038.

<sup>121.</sup> Interjections by delegates during Kuusinen's speech, op. cit., 846. In fact according to a statement in *Inprecor*, No. 69, 1470, 13 December 1929, the Plenum had resolved to expel Roy from the Comintern although this was not publicly known in July 1929.

<sup>122.</sup> In his Tenth Plenum report, op. cit., 846.

<sup>123.</sup> P. Sch. (sic., P. Schubin or Shubin), 'The Conference of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of India', Inprecor, No. 16, 319, 29 March 1929.

<sup>124.</sup> Tegart to Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, 1 April 1930, L/PJ 6/2000, 1974/30, and 9-11 April 1930, L/PJ/6/2000, 2987/30.

125. In his Tenth Plenum report, op. cit., 846.

the millhands, exhausted by the 1928 struggle126 to strike,127 In September the strike was called off with no success for the workers, 128 The result was a slump of the G.K.U. to a few hundred members 129 and the workers "left in a mood of distrust of any leaders."130

The precipitous C.P.I. decline in the trade-union movement was accelerated by their growing isolation in it. This in turn was the outcome of their sectarianism which promoted splits in the movement.

At the December 1929 Nagpur session of the A.I.T.U.C. the 'moderate' leaders split away to form their own federation<sup>131</sup> leaving the Communists and nationalists to share control of the weakened parent body. A 'moderate,' Shiva Rao, claimed132 that "a message from Moscow, dated 12th June 1929" had instructed the C.P.I. "to get rid of" the 'moderate' leaders "and Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose" (presumably from the leadership of the A.I.T.U.C.). Rao claimed that the message was published in the newspaper of a Communist-Ied union 133 and that the editor. 134 Ranadive, had "confessed" that this was so.

126. According to a pro-Communist journalist of this period M. G. Desai, one of the Communists arrested in March 1929 (Dange) had advised the millhands against a protest strike because of the weakened state the 1928 strike had left them in. 'Some Anecdotes of the Meerut Conspiracy Case', New Age, 5 October 1969, 9.

127. Meerut prisoner S. S. Mirajkar was, much later, to assess the 1929

strike as "uncalled for", Communist Party of India, op. cit., 39.

128. Annual Report on the Working of the Trade Disputes Act, 1929, for the Bombay Presidency for the period ending 31/12/29, Government of Bombay. 1930, in L/E/8/47, 6012/30.

129. Morris, op. cit., 184-5.

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130. Note by Mitra, 16 April 1930, see above, 17.

131. India & Communalism, 159-60.

132. In a letter sent by Major Graham Pole to Secretary of State Benn, enclosure in Benn to Irwin, 15 January 1930, Halifax Collection, Vol. 6, 16.

133. The Railwayman, organ of the Great Indian Peninsula Railwaymen's Union

134. Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department to Secretary to G. of I., Home Department (Political), (letter No. SD-1897), 9 November 1929 in P/76, 483.

Rao's allegations seem likely to be correct in vig w of the Comintern attitude to the Indian trade-union movement at this time. In July for example, H. Eidus had alleged that since the 'moderates' were "losing their hold on the labour movement, the Indian bourgeoisie" was "endeavouring to make use of other agents . . . . the 'Left' nationalists." 135

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Even so, the Communists had not aimed to split the A.I.T.U.C. Rao noted that:

"They were confident that, even if we were defeated and removed from our place on the Executive, we would, under no circumstances, go out of the Congress."136

But though the Communists tried to heal the rift by withdrawing a motion offensive to the "moderates" (for affiliation to the P.P.T.U.S.) in face of no opposition and by throwing out hints that other such resolutions might be withdrawn if the 'moderates' would return, 137 they failed. By their own unwise extremist tactics of all-out offensive not against the employers but against 'their social-reformist agents,' the C.P.I. had given the 'moderates' "every pretext to depart,"138

Communist tactics of at all costs fighting to wrest control of the unions from the hands of the 'agents of the bourgeoisie', whether 'moderate' or nationalist, led after Nagpur to a protracted battle with the latter culminating in a further split in the A.I.T.U.C. at the Calcutta session of July 1931.

The C.P.I. by its leftist opposition to Congress provided its nationalist opponents in the struggle for the unions with allies, the Royists. After his expulsion from the Comintern, Roy was determined to combat its leftism by trying "to capture the Indian Communist movement" which he hoped would "enable him to make

<sup>135. &#</sup>x27;The Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Secretariat and the Indian Trade Union Movement', Inprecor, No. 34, 734, 19 July 1929. The Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Secretariat, P.P.T.U.S., was "the directive agency in the Far East of the Profintern [R.I.L.U.]" according to India & Communism, 60.

<sup>137.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138.</sup> This was the opinion of the Nagpur A.I.T.U.C. session of President Jawaharlal Nehru, Autobiography, 199.

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his own thrms' with the Comintern. 139 During 1930 Roy sent lieutenant, to India in pursuance of this aim, finally arriving himself in December.140

A key target was the Communist-led unions, and by early 1931 the Royists were in control of the G.K.U.141 This was a period when not the unity of the trade-union movement but Communist leadership of it became of first importance 142 to the C.P.I., some of whose members, according to later Comintern critique, in tending "towards sectarianism" refused "to fight for the masses" and were thus unable "to isolate the national-reformist leaders and draw the rank and file over to the Communists' side."143 The result in fact was often the isolation of the C.P.I. union leaders in what were virtually 'paper' unions existing parallel to unions led by the nationalist-Royist alliance. As the Meerut prisoners were to admit in a mid-1932 memorandum, nearly all the Communist-led unions passed into the hands of the Royists and their allies.144

Not surprisingly therefore the Communist A.I.T.U.C. secretary Deshpande, anticipating the removal of Communists from leading positions in the organisation, prevented the scheduled annual session from convening in February 1931.145 When the session was eventually held in July, impending defeat for the Communists in the struggle for control of the organisation led to their seceding to form the "Red A.I.T.U.C." which according to their main nationalist opponent at this session did not subsequently show

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<sup>139.</sup> India & Communism, 162.

<sup>140.</sup> Ibid., 162 and 164.

<sup>141.</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>142.</sup> Thus an 'Open Letter from the Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Secretariat to the Indian Proletariat' (Inprecor, No. 58, 1215, 18 December 1930) told the C.P.I. that the "establishment of Revolutionary Trade Unions" was "of extreme importance" and that these "Red Trade Unions" would "affiliate with the A.I.T.U.C." only after it had "been purged of all extreme Right elements".

<sup>143. &#</sup>x27;A Few Facts of History', (unsigned) Inprecor, No. 10, 278, 16 February, 1934.

<sup>144.</sup> India & Communism, 182.0

<sup>145.</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>146.</sup> Ibid.

"much sign of activity except occasionally in Bombay and in Calcutta." 147

But leftism adversely affected C.P.I. fortunes in the political as well as the trade-union field.

In the early 1920s Indian Communists had looked forward to a repetition of the type of situation that had arisen during the non-cooperation movement, a situation they believed would be ripe for a national rising against imperialism given the one great desideratum of 1920-22, the existence of a revolutionary party like the C.P.I.<sup>148</sup>

On the eve of the civil disobedience movements the prospects for a spectacular advance of both the national revolution and the C.P.I. appeared bright. The foundations of the Raj were such that Petrie claimed that "while the executive authorities had, with difficulty, withstood the non-cooperation movement ... the authority of Government and its officers had since definitely been weakened," whilst Under Secretary of State Hirtzel spoke of "British rule" having lost "a sufficient amount of poiltical support to enable the King's government to be carried on." 150

As far as Congress was concerned C.P.I. participation in the impending movement would certainly have been welcomed. Nationalist sympathy for the Meerut prisoners was manifest and

147. Bose, op. cit., 233. This estimate was no doubt correct. The Comintern later admitted that the sectarian trade-union policy of this period "led to the strengthening of the position of the bourgeoisie and their agents". (V. Basak, "The Present Situation in India", Inprecor, No. 39, 853, 8 September 1933).

148. This was Roy's belief expressed in an issue of his journal, The Vanguard. See G. of I., Communism in India, 72.

149. Record of proceedings of a conference of 16 December 1929 in Secretary to G. of I., Home Department, Political to Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal (letter No. D. 3947 Poll.), 31 December 1929, L/PJ/6/1994, 229/30. Stress as in file copy.

150. Minute on letter D-o No. 315-P.A., H. W. Emerson (giving views of Punjab Government on political situation) to Haig, 3 January 1930, L/PJ/

151. Motilal Nehru had taken the offensive against the Government on this issue from the start (Viceroy to Secretary of State, [tel. No. 1161-S/Jawaharlal helped organise a Meerut Prisoners' Defence Committee (Nanda, The Nehrus, 311).

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and nda, Gandhi invited Indian Communists to cooperate with him in his plans for 930. 152 Of course the C.P.I. had been seriously weakened by the Meerut arrests. Even so in July 1929 the India Office could still make the assessment that the "revolutionary and communist organisations are by no means finished with" and express the belief that they "would instantly join in, if any general campaign were once let loose by the (presumably) responsible Congress leaders, and it is for that reason that the Congress programme is potentially so dangerous." 153 Moreover the strongest base of the C.P.I.. Bombay, was to become "the storm centre" of the civil disobedience movement. 154

In the event, because of its leftism, the C.P.I. was unable to grasp its opportunity. Belief in the irretrievable 'counter-revolutionary' character of Congress had led Indian Communists to see the Lahore independence resolution as a "revolutionary mask for the bourgeois leadership" and the subsequent movement as a "shamfight." Since the general Communist estimate was that Congress was heading the mass movement against imperialism in order to disorganise it and drive it to defeat it was concluded that "the most urgent task of the Indian Communists" was "to expose . . . . the real significance of the tactics of the Nationalist leaders." Moreover since the main exponents of the policy of

152. This was, apparently, the testimony of Meerut prisoner Ghate, see Communist Party of India, op. cit., 108.

153. 16 July 1929 minute of R. T. Peel, Principal, Public & Judicial Dept., on Haig's secret letter No. D-342/29, 24 June 1929, see above, 16.

154. Government of India to Secretary of State, (tel. 1010), 18 April 1932, L/PJ/7/303, 2074/32.

155. 'Resolution of the All-India Anti-Imperialist League on the General Political Situation and the Tasks of the League adopted at the All-India Anti-Imperialist League Conference convened in Bombay 24 October 1930 to establish the League. The formation of this body had been urged by the International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism in an 'Open Letter to the Lahore Session of Congress', since, it said, "the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress of the League against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against in the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting and the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompr

gle against imperialism", Inprecor, No. 71, 1499, 27 December 1929.

156. C. Dutt, "The Indian National Revolution', Labour Monthly, Vol. 12, No. 6, June 1930, 324.

157. V. Chattopadhyaya, 'Increased Revolutionary Activity in India', Inpresor, No. 41, 854, 4 September 1930.

a 'revolutionary mask' for Congress were Left nationalists like Nehru and Bose, their factics constituted the "most harmful and dangerous obstacle to the victory of the Indian revolution" and the 'exposure of the left Congress leaders" become "the primary task" of the C.P.I. 158

With such a perspective the C.P.I's political practice during the crucial months of civil disobedience conformed to the estimate that "the real struggle" was "not between the Congress and British imperialism but between the Congress and the Indian revolutionant movement." The C.P.I. therefore not only tended "to regard the whole anti-imperialist movement of 1930-31 as a purely Congress movement and to remain aloof from it" but actually clashed with Congress at times during 1930. The most famous incident occurred at the Bombay Independence Day celebrations which were terminated by a C.P.I.-led invasion of the Congress platform resulting in a scuffle and the forcible hoisting of the red flat alongside the Congress flag. However the initial failure of the key Bombay proletariat significantly to participate in the civil disobedience movement, 162 no doubt partly due to C.P.I. policy.

158. 'Draft Platform of Action' of the C.P.I., Indian Communsit Parts Documents, 3-12. This document appeared first in December 1930 and received "wide circulation throughout India", India & Communism, 170.

159. V. Chattopadhyaya, 'The Indian National Congress against Revolutionary Development', Inprecor, No. 50, 1036, 6 November 1930.

160. 'Abridged Draft of Political Theses of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.', Inprecor, No. 40, 1024, 20 July 1934. The correctness of this late self-criticism by the C.P.I. seems confirmed by contemporary evidence; set for example the Governor of Bombay's comment with regard to the circular disobedience movement in May 1930 that the "Communist & Workers' Peasants' Organisations are watching and waiting" (Sykes to Irwin, 21 May 1930, Halifax Collection, Vol. 24, 370), also a Bombay C.P.I. document (quoted in the three Parties' Open Letter of 19 May 1932, see below, 36) of June 1930.

161. "Bombay Special" to Home Department, New Delhi, (Tel. P. No. SD 148), 30 January 1930 L/PJ/6/1996, 770/30. Men who worked in Corgress between the wars were often later to recollect this incident, e.g. M. Masani: "the Indian Communists insulted on the sands of Chowpathy Bombay the national flag of the independent India yet to be born", The Communist Party of India, 29.

162. See Viceroy's telegrams to Secretary of State during May 1930 L/PJ/6/200, for example No. 1451-S, 11 May 1930 (2357/30) and No. 568 25 May 1930 (2817/30).

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resulted in great Congress efforts to win them, 163 with the organisation in August of a "Congress Labour Week." This campaign helped persuace the C.P.I. that the 'real battle' was between themselves and Congress, so that "a vigorous struggle" for the support of the unemployed "between the Congress and the Communists" resulted.165

However in its competition with Congress it was the C.P.J. that was worsted. In August the non-C.P.I. section of the G.K.U.. leadership joined Congress 166 and from this time millhands in\_ creasingly backed the Congress campaign.167 Things were now looking bleak for the C.P.I. Its base among the millhands was badly eroded and its tactics were alienating the nationalist left168 with which such fruitful cooperation had been developing in 1928. By February 1931 Inprecor 169 was speaking of the "revolutionary masses" being "welded together under counter-revolutionary leadership" and the consequent "despair" of some Indian Communists.

The chances of a rapid turn to more realistic tactics were probably ended however by the period of Congress bargaining with the Raj which assumed open form from the time of the Delhi pact. In February 1931 'G.S.' had claimed that Congress was "preparing an inconceivable treachery, the greatest of all."170 Each Congress compromise, from the Delhi pact to participation in the Round Table Conference was regarded not merely as further

163. Sykes to Benn (tel.), 20 July 1930. L/PJ/6/1998, 4116/30.

164. Govt. of Bombay to Secretary of State (tel. SD 3523), 17 August 1930, L/PJ/4/1998, 4653/30.

165. Sykes to Irwin, 25 August 1930, Halifax Collection, Vol. 25, 740.

166. Sykes to Irwin, (tel.), 13 August 1930, Halifax Collection, Vol. 25,

167. Report of G. S. Wilson, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, 23 October <sup>1930</sup>, L/PJ/6/1998, 6745/30.

168. Later Jaiprakash Narayan was to claim that though he had been converted to "Soviet Communism" in the U.S.A. in the 1920s, when he returned to India is 1920s. to India in 1929 and "did not find the Indian Communists anywhere on the battle line." battle lines" he "kept away from the C.P.I." and joined Congress. Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, 141-3.

169. 'The Next Tasks of the Indian Revolutionary Movement', by 'G.S.',

op. cit., No. 9, 179, 26 February, 1931.

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exposure of Congress treachery but actually as "a positive gain to the working masses" since they would thereby be emancipated "from the illusions created by the Congress leaders." The reality was quite different. When the Communists organised a rival meeting to Gandhi's in Bombay immediately after the Delhi Pact they could attract an audience of only 150 compared with Gandhi's 200,000<sup>172</sup> When, on the occasion of Gandhi's departure from Bombay for the Round Table Conference, the Communist organised a demonstration of 200 millworkers crying 'Down with Gandhi', the demonstrators "were hammered by a large crowd that collected on the spur of the moment" and which resented opposition to Gandhi. The Communist call for a protest hard was ignored and 50,000 assembled "to hear Mr. Gandhi's parting message and to have his 'darshan'." The Communist call for a protest hard message and to have his 'darshan'."

By 1932 C.P.I. fortunes were at their nadir. In May Inpreconspoke of C.P.I. "passivity" and "despondency," and in July of "hardly any resistance" to the machinations of the "national reformists" in the Calcutta trade-unions. By its sectarian tactics the C.P.I. had destroyed the progress made in the Iabour and political movements up to 1928. The object of strengthening the party had not been achieved, indeed, the C.P.I. was reduced to a few small groups riven with dissent. 176

The first step away from leftism and towards recovery came in summer 1932 with advice from abroad after a request from Meerut prisoners concerned at the Party's decline. The advice

171. V. Chattopadhyaya, 'The Capitulation of the Indian Bourgeoisle Imprecor, No. 15, 285, 19 March 1931.

172. Report of Commissioner of Police, Bombay. No. 1530/H/3717, 18 March 1931, L/PJ/7/78, 1697/31.

173. Report of Commissioner of Police, Bombay, 29 August 1931, L/PJ 7/78, 4544/31.

,174. 'Open Letter to the Indian Communists from the Central Committee' of the C.Ps. of Germany, Great Britain and China', op. cit., No. 22, 436, 19 May 1932.

175. Rathan Singh (an exiled Indian revolutionary) 'The Struggle for the Indian Masses under Conditions of Colonial Terror', op. cit., No. 30, 615 7 July 1932.

176. India & Communism, 162 and the three Parties' Open Letter, op. cit.
19 May 1932.

177. India & Communism, 183 and Ahmad, The C.P.I.: Years

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correctly identified the immediate cause of C.P.I. misfortune as isolation from the masses led by organisations, such as Congress and trade-union bodies, which the C.P.I. had labelled as irremediably inimical to the interests of the revolution. However no critique of the theoretical mistakes regarding the rôles of the national bourgeoisie and 'Left' nationalists, which had led to this isolation, was undertaken. Consequently the advice was only a very partial, inconsistent rectification of the leftist line. Advice on the need to renew contact with the masses by participating in all mass demonstrations organised by the Congress"178 and by organising "Communist fractions" in the "mass organisations" of "'left' national reformism''179 was thus accompanied by support for extreme leftist formulations which had helped isolate the C.P.I. from the masses in the first place. For example Left nationalists were identified as the "especial" target for an "uncompromising struggle" whilst "the worst enemies" of the Indian revolution were not the imperialists but the Royists. 180

Even so the C.P.I.'s acceptance of the revised line came only in 1933 when the release of most of the experienced leaders after Meerut<sup>181</sup> coincided with renewed international exhortation on the lines of those of 1932.182

In November 1933 a Calcutta meeting of the main cadres, convened by Adhikari, set about a C.P.I. reorganisation involving the formation of a central organising 'nucleus', the barring of two of the main 1929-33 leaders from elective posts and the reunification of the key Bombay party. 183 A new political thesis which

178. The three Parties' Open Letter op cit., 19 May 1932.

179. Rathan Singh 'The Struggle for the Indian Masses under Conditions of Colonial Terror', Inprecor, No. 30, 615, 7 July 1932. The reference to mass organisations" clearly refers primarily to the trade-unions.

180. The three Parties' Open Letter, op. cit., 19 May 1932.

181. The first releases, including Adhikari and P. P. Joshi, came in August, India & Communism, 140 and 187.

182. "The Indian Labour Movement, (unsigned), Inprecor, No. 22, 490. 19 May 1933; V. Basak, 'The Present Situation in India, Inprecor, No. 39, 853, 8 South V. Basak, 'The Present Situation in Communists from the 853, 8 September 1933; 'Open Letter to the Indian Communists from the Central Communists from Letter to the Indian Communists from the Central Communists from the Central Communists from the China' Inprecor No. 51, Central Committee of the Communist Party of China', Inprecor No. 51, 1153, 24 November 1933.

183. See India & Communism, 187-91 and Ghate's testimony in Communist Party of India, op. cit., 112. The two debarred men were Ranadive

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resulted from this meeting conformed to the revisid line of the 1932 Open Letter but added its own original touth by making the first C.P.I. advocacy of what later became known as 'collective affiliation.' Thus the Communists were "to use the Congress platforms," not as the C.P.I., but "through some of the mass organisations of the toilers." That these tactics meant C.P.I. led 'mass organisations' actually joining Congress was made clear in a contemporary article. 185

This period also saw the first practical steps by Indian Communists to reunify the trade-union movement. A late 1933 appeal had called for the uniting of C.P.I.-led unions with 'parallel unions, 186 but some unity in action was achieved in March 1934 when a Joint Strike Committee of Communists and Royists was formed to conduct a strike against wage cutting and rationalisation in the Bombay mills. 187

In fact, after initial spectacular success, the strike collapsed amidst recrimination between the factions comprising the Joint Committee. That the failure was partly due to C.P.I. sectarianism was suggested by an *Inprecor* analysis which spoke of some of the strike leaders calling for "purely Communist tradeunions" during the second part of the strike after many of the

184. 'Abridged Draft of Political Theses of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.', Inprecor, No. 40, 1024, 20 July 1934. According to the Intelligence Bureau, India & Communism, 187-91, these were prepared by Adhikari instructions from the November 1933 meeting and appeared in pamphlet form in February 1934.

185. Orgwald, 'A Conversation with Indian Comrades', Inprecor, No. 20, 519, 29 March 1934.

186. 'For Trade-Union Unity in India', said to be an "appeal worked out at the end of 1933 by a group of participants in the Indian trade-union movement", Inprecor, No. 31, 820, 25 May 1934.

187. Government of Bombay to G. of I. (letter No. SD-1602), 18 May 1934, P/83, File No. 7/5—Political of 1934, Serial No. 341. Bombay Government to Secretary of State, (tel. No. 37), 29 April 1934, ibid. Serial No. 12; Maxwell Home Department (Special) Bombay to Hallett, Secretary to G. of I, Home Department, Report for second half of January 1934, 1-6 February 1934, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 14.

188. Brabourne to Viceroy, 5 May 1934, Brabourne, Collection, Vol. 14; Bombay Government to Hoare, 6 June 1934, P/83, Serial No. 38; Maxwell to Hallett, report for second half of June, 1-7 July 1934, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 14.

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experienced leaders like Adhikari had been arrested. Even so, the first tent, tive C.P.I. moves away from leftism had brought their reward. In the autumn the C.P.I. was speaking of its "rehabilitation" with the millhands 190 and the Bombay Governor of Communist domination of the city's unions. 191

In 1934 the C.P.I. also benefited from its abandoning of the policy of holding aloof from Congress. Thus Adhikari began to establish contacts with Left Congressmen192 and the Bombay Congress session was the occasion for the distribution of C.P.I. literature which influenced men who were to become Kerala, C.P.I. leaders. 193 By January 1935 extending C.P.I. contacts with the recently formed Congress Socialist Party had resulted in an agreement for united action. 194 In April a further such agreement was reached between the C.S.P. and the two trade-union centres A.I. T.U.C. and the Red T.U.C. which in the same month merged at Calcutta.195

Thus by early 1935 the C.P.I. was participating in joint Bombay P.C.C.-A.I.T.U.C. meetings festconing the platforms with banners praising Russia and the Comintern. 196 For the Raj the spectre of Communist-nationalist collusion was reappearing, 197 alongside

189. 'Problems of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in India', op. cit., No. 10, 290, 9 March 1935.

190. India & Communism, 200.

191. Brabourne to Hoare, 26 November 1934, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 14. That Brabourne was not referring solely to Royist control seems certain since earlier (Brabourne to Hoare, draft tel. No. 28, 10 April 1934, Brubourne Collection, Vol. 4), he had claimed that "Practically all Textile and other Unions are in the hands of Communist leaders, largely Meerut prisoners". C.P.I. influence in the Bombay unions almost certainly increased between April and November.

192. Biographical sketch of Adhikari, in Rao & Sen, Our. Doc. 7.

193. Krishnan, Kerala's First Communist, 67.

194. Maxwell to Hallett, report for first half of January, 1-6 February 1935, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 14.

195. Weekly Report No. 15, Director, Intelligence Bureau, 20 April 1935, L/PJ/7/893, 2734/35, and Punekar, op. cit., 334.

196. Maxwell to Hallett, report for first half of February, 16-21 February 935. Real 1935, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 14; Knight, Secretary to Bombay Home Department of May, 1-6 June Department (Special) to Hallett, report for second half of May, 1-6 June 1935, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 14.

197. Apprehension about the effects on Congress of any Communist supon 16 Octob. Work in that body had been expressed by G. of I. to Hoar on 16 October 1934 (tel. 38-C) L/PJ/7/484, 3736/34.

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ay 1934 ment to Iaxwell, , Home y 1934.

Jol. 14; Taxwell lection clear evidence of the C.P.I.'s advance.198 Indeed the C.P.I. was clearly assisted by the antagonism to imperialism Congressmen shared with Communists.

In particular Congress opposition to the Raj hindered the application of repressive measures against the C.P.I. Two weapons used by Government against the C.P.I. at this time were the Criminal Law Amendment Act, under which the Party was banned in July 1934,199 and the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, giving certain powers to arrest and intern. However convictions were not easy to obtain under the former<sup>200</sup> whilst internment under the latter did not stop political work by the internees,201 in fact the exile of two Communists to Ahmednagar enabled them to build such a base among local Congressmen that Dange used it to secure election to the Faizpur Congress session.202 Thus, since after the "Pathetic"203 outcome to the Meerut case Willingdon was determined not to have any more conspiracy cases;204 feeling in Government in favour of anti-Communist legislation was strong.205 However, the necessity to take into account Congress reaction to "imperialist repression" was an

198. Viceroy to Hoare (tel. R. No. 1578), 28 June 1935, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 17; Governor of Bengal to Hoare, 1 June 1935, Templewood Collection, Vol. 9, 224.

199. Notification No. F7/8/34, 23 July 1934, P/12046, File No. 7/8/34-Poll, Serial No. 3.

200. Viceroy to Hoare, (tel. R. No. 1462), 30 June 1934, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 5, see also acquittals of Tambitkar and Sarmalkar in Maxwell to Hallett, report for first half of February, 16-21 February 1935, Brabourn Collection, Vol. 14.

201. India & Communism, 204.

202. Adhikari, 'Shripad Amrit Dange' New Age, 5 October 1969, 12.

203. The estimate of Williamson, Director of the Intelligence Bureau India & Communism, vi.

204. Willingdon to Hoare, 26 February 1933, Templewood Collection Vol. 6, 252. Hoare agreed: see Hoare to Willingdon 11 August 1933, Temple wood Collection, Vol. 3, 791. The Raj certainly miscalculated the likely propaganda effect they hoped (see Peel to Irwin, 17 January 1929, Halifax Collection, Vol. 5, 11) would accrue from the trial. Indeed it was the Communists who were able successfully to exploit the trial for this purpose (see India & Communism, 141). Even in Britain, according to Hirtzel (to Hailey, 9 August 1929, Hailey Collection, Vol. 15b, 274) "the whole thing" seemed "to the plain man to be rather a travesty of justice".

205. Brabourne to Hoare, 28 June 1934, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 4.

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## ULTRA-LEFTISM AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA 389

impediment to efforts to have anti-Communist laws placed on the statute book <sup>206</sup> British attempts to check the re-emergence of Indian Communism after 1933 were hampered by the aim nationalism shared with the C.P.I. of fighting the Raj.

Nevertheless, as long as the C.P.I. adhered to the general line of 1932 it could not take full advantage of this favourable circumstance. Whilst Communists continued to brand the C.S.P. as a "maneouvre" of the bourgeoisie to divert the revolutionary energies of the masses<sup>207</sup> that party was likely to react, as it did in 1934, by banning Communists from membership.<sup>208</sup> Whilst (perhaps the less sagacious) Communists continued to launch attacks on Congress meetings<sup>209</sup> the aim of collective affiliation was unlikely to be achieved.

The obvious need was for systematic extension of the halting revision of leftism which had begun in 1932 so that all Indian Communists could be wholly weaned away from it.

The decisive step came at the Seventh Comintern Congress<sup>210</sup> in August 1935. Here it was argued<sup>211</sup> that imperialism was currently waging an "intensified offensive" against the colonial peoples with political consequences of great significance. The antagonism between colonial and imperialist bourgeoisie had accentuated the national-revolutionary tendency, as represented by the formation of Left wings, was increasingly challenging reformism in

206. Hoare to Brabourne, 20 July 1934, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 2; Brabourne to Mark Patrick, 1 January 1935, Brabourne Collection, Vol. 4. 207. See, for example, R. P. Dutt, 'Congress Socialism', Indian Forum, October 1934, 118-123

208. M. R. Masani to R. A. Butler, 24 July 1935, L/PJ/7/893, 2810/35.
209. See for example details of the breaking up of the Independence Day celebration in Calcutta on 26 January 1935 by "young communists", Government of India.

ment of India to Hoare, (tel. 396) 13 February 1935, L/PJ/7484, 488/35.
210. It is possible that the change in the line on India at this Congress came about partly because Spratt, who after his release from jail in September 1934 had toured India, sent the Comintern a report on the situation there, according to India & Communism, 205.

211. By Wang Ming in his report 'The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonial Countries', 7 August 1935. This was published in Inprecor, Separately. See 1, 3-4, 6, 29-30 especially.

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bourgeois nationalist parties. In view of these development "anti-imperialist united front tactics" had assumed "primar important" for colonial Communist Parties. However C.P.I. work was held up as a model of how not to conduct such tactics. By demanding the I.N.C. accept a united front programme including demand such as "'the establishment of an Indian Workers' ! Peasants' Soviet Republic'" the C.P.I. (in December 1934) had made proletarian hegemony a precondition for cooperation with the bourgeois Congress. Such "'Left' sectarian errors' could only make a united front impossible. 212 The C.P.I. was thus urged to "put a decisive stop to sectarianism" and "in no case disregard work within the National Congress and the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations affiliated with it". The Comintern had returned to the pre-1928 line of organisational independence for Indian Communism alongside full participation in the national movement to promote its revolutionary tendency against reformism. Moreover, work within the C.S.P. was now clearly being urged.

Even so, not until after it was subjected to further pressure via the C.S.P. decision to reverse its ban on Communists becoming members<sup>213</sup> and through a new thesis from British Communists (both in January 1936) did the C.P.I. accept the break with leftism.

The new thesis, produced by R. P. Dutt and Bradley,<sup>214</sup> took the idea of collective affiliation and turned it into a means by which along with other changes such as the democratising of its organisation and the dropping of "the dogma of non-violence" from its creed, Congress itself might be transformed into the desired united front. Of course the Communists would still maintain organi-

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<sup>212.</sup> Of course "proletarian hegemony" in the anti-imperialist movement was quite as much an aim of the Communists as, they assumed, "bourgeois hegemony" was the aim of the Congress leadership. The point was that such hegemony could not be made a condition for the formation of the front.

<sup>213.</sup> Jaiprakash Narayan, 'Problem of Socialist Unity in India', a 1941 article in *Towards Struggle*, 170. No doubt this decision was influenced by the change in Comintern line of August 1935.

<sup>214.</sup> Dutt & Bradley, 'The Anti-Imperialist People's Front', Indian Politics, 2-13.

## ULTRA-LEFTISM AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA 391

sational independence but, as individuals, they would play a key role in the task of making Congress uncompromisingly revolutionary. Hopefully, this work would be effected not only by the affiliation of Communist-led mass organisations to Congress, but also by the C.S.P. which "as the grouping of all the radical elements in the existing Congress" had "an especially important part" to play. It was necessary for the C.P.I. to make clear its political differences with the C.S.P. and vice versa, but this should be achieved via "comradely discussion" which should not be an obstacle to "common working on all the issues on which agreement can be reached."

To achieve the desired changes in Congress, unity of all national-revolutionary forces was thus essential. But it was clear that equally necessary was the reunification of 'the most consistently revolutionary force,' the proletariat, so that the Dutt-Bradley thesis on unity in the political sphere was accompanied by an appeal for "a united trade-union movement" since, "[in] this manner the united working class" would "be able to bring its full strength to bear" in the united front. The ending of the last remaining divisions in the Indian trade-union movement was thereby urged on the C.P.I. as a key task.<sup>215</sup>

At first there was considerable opposition within the C.P.I. to the Dutt-Bradley formulations, <sup>216</sup> but by spring 1936 a new C.P.I. leadership had accepted the need to implement the new line and had grasped the hand extended by the C.S.P. in January, Communists now being permitted to join that Party on an individual basis<sup>217</sup> From this time the leftist period of the pre-Independence C.P.I. can be taken as ended. Even though leftism was to persist in the party the new formulations had now been accepted as the guidelines for C.P.I. policy. The party now entered a period when the applications of the new line was to see an unprecedented growth in membership and influence.

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<sup>215.</sup> Dutt & Bradley, 'Towards Trade Union Unity', op. cit., 14-24.
216. See the testimony of Communist C. V. Rao in Overstreet and Wind-

<sup>217.</sup> Ibid., 162.

116. Ghate, and Ghate, quoted in Communist Party of India, op. cit., 114Committee.

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The Second Comintern Treess had established that, colonial Communist Parties were faced with two basic tasks firstly, to work in national liberation movements against imperialism and 'feudalism', and secondly, to organize Communist movements to conduct the anti-bourgeois struggle. Though the national movements by nature were bourgeois, no contradiction between the two tasks was admitted. In fact the two were seen as complementary since the completion of the national democratic revolution would ensure the conditions necessary for achieving socialism, whilst the building of Communist Parties would mean strengthening the political expression of the class most consistently interested in the bourgeois revolution: the proletariat. Doubts about this thesis by those Communists who feared that the first task would necessarily hamper the second constituted the origin of leftism which, when it guided C.P.I. work in the earlier 1930s, proved a severe handicap for Indian Communism. The lesson of these years was that neglect of the first task inevitably made success in the second impossible. Work within the national movement was necessary, if not sufficient, for success in building the C.P.I.

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### Indian National Congress, The Formative Years REVITALIZATION AS A POLITICAL FORCE

BY

### P. N. CHOPRA

The fifth session of the Congress which met at Bombay under the presidentship of Sir William Wedderburn came to be known as the Bradlaugh session,1 due to the presence of that great parliamentarian whose visit, according to Surendranath Bannerjea, "imparted a new impetus to the Congress cause."2 Bradlaugh reputed to be the "Member for India" was enthusiastically received by a grateful nation and several hundred addresses were presented to him.3 Bradlaugh's reply was characteristic of him. "For whom should I work" he remarked "if not for the people, born of the people, trusted by the people; I will die for the people."4 Addressing the delegates he said, "Your presence here today refutes and answers in anticipation one sneer, that I have heard spoken within the walls of Parliament. It is said there is no Indian Nation; there can be no Indian National Congress; there is no Indian people; there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds. The lesson I read here is that this Congress movement is an educational movement, hammering upon the anvil of millions of men's brains until it welds into one common whole men whose desire for political and social reforms is greater than all distinctions of race and creed."5

The Congress at Bombay was larger than the previous one. The number of delegates in that year (1889) was by a curious coincidence exactly 1889.6 This session was unique in many res-

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Miller 19-7-29,

<sup>1.</sup> Mazumdar, A. C., Congress in Evolution, p. XXI.

<sup>2.</sup> Bannerjea, S. N., A Nation in Making, p. 110.

<sup>3.</sup> Proc. I.N.C. 1889, p. 69. 4. Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>5.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1889, p. 71. 6. Ibid., p. 58.

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pects. A skeleton scheme for introducing representative institutions in India was first drafted at this session.7 "Hume's innocent proposal for some provision for safeguarding the interests of the minorities brought forth a fierce demand from Munshi Hidayat Rasul, a delegate from Oudh, for parity between Hindus and Muslims in the Councils."8 However, his amendment was rejected by Muhammadan delegates themselves, 16 voting for and 23 against the proposal. One of the resolutions adopted at this session was to send "a deputation to England .... to represent the views of the Congress and to press upon the attention of the British public, the political reforms which the Congress advocates."9 Hume, Pherozeshah Mehta, Mano Mohan Ghose, W. C. Bonnerjee, Sharifuddin Eardley Norton, R. N. Mudholkar and Surendranath were to be its members.10 Surendranath's appeal for funds at the close of the session met with a response which would have been regarded "unique in the annals of any public movement." This session was also memorable in another respect because for the first time some of the lady delegates12 attended it. Lajpat Rai also attended this session which did not impress him much. As he wrote in his diary "I somehow began to feel that the Congress leaders cared more for fame and pomp than for the interest of the country." But as he explained later this was only a vague feeling and he could not substantiate it.13 Lajpat Rai did evince much interest in Congress activities. He sincerely believed that the Congress had been founded by a few Englishmen to provide "an innocuous occupation for the intelligentia lest they should organise a strong political movement aimed at England's supremacy." He was of the view that Indians should make themselves stronger by education, by the spread of swadeshi and by smuggling of arms. Only then they would be able to drive out the British."

After the return of Sir William Wedderburn from the Bombay Congress, steps were taken to put the London organisation on a

- 7. Ibid.
- 8. Ibid., p. 46.
- 9. Bannerjea, op. cit., p. 111.
- 10. Proc. I.N.C., 1889, pp. 63-64.
- 11. Bannerjea, S. N., op cit., p. 110.
- 12. Proc. I.N.C., 1889, p. 69.
- 13. Lajpat Rai, "The Story of My Life", p. 86.

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ombay on a more permanent footing. With the approval of the Indian leaders, a small committee consisting of Allan Hume, W. S. Caine, M.P., John E. Ellis, M.P. (who became Under Secretary of State for India in 1906), W. S. B. Melaren, M.P., Dadabhai Naroji and George Yule with William Wedderburn as Chairman was appointed. Thus the British Committee of the Indian National Congress came into being. The first issue of the journal "India" appeared in February 1890, the Editor being William Digby. It was issued at irregular intervals till 1892 when it became a monthly journal and later on a weekly in January, 1898. Its main purpose was to "bring grit to the Congress mill."14 Six thousand copies of it were printed15 and widely distributed in India. Lord Hamilton expressed concern about "this poisonous little rag" which spread 'lies'.16 In India it definitely exercised an important influence on the Vernacular Press and the British Intelligence Chief regarded "this influence to be pernicious."17 The politically conscious Bengal subscribed for 960 copies of 'India' while many of the Indian papers received it in exchange.18 'India' continued as a weekly review for many years until Congress closed its official representation in London.19 Early in 1890, Bradlaugh introduced in the House of Commons the Indian Councils Amendment Bill which was based upon the draft scheme of the Congress.20

The Congress continued to grow in strength as Dadabhai wrote to Wacha on December 10, 1890 "Its importance and necessity increases everyday." The growing popularity of the Congress was

14. Hamilton Papers D 510/2, Vol. 14, pp. 63-7. Select Documents, "The Evolution of India and Pakistan" edited by C. H. Philips, London, 1962, p. 147.

15. Letter dated 18th July, 1899 of C. W. Boston, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Hamilton Papers, India Office Library, D510/2, Volume 14, pp. 227-30, Philips, op. cit., p. 149.

16. Lord Hamilton to Lord Curzon, 18th May, 1899, Hamilton Papers, India Office Library, C. 126/1, pp. 135-8, Private papers, Philips, op. cit., p. 147.

17. C. S. Bayley, I.C.S., (Superintendent for the suppression of Thagi and Dakaity).

Note on Congress Support, 18th June, 1899, in Philips, op. cit., 147.

19. The Hindu, December 27, 1935. Frederick Grubb's article "The First National Congress".

20. Ibid.

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looked upon with grave concern in British Conservative circles Even a liberal statesman. Lord Dufferin, had denounced the National Congress as a public danger. Gladstone, too, in one of his letters had confessed the 'rising forces of sedition as a headless child which might play with a tiger cub.' Dadabhai Naroji had been assured by one of the two political parties in England that after Ireland is satisfied, the emancipation of India must next be taken in hand. The British were alarmed at the rapid pace of education. "Sir John Gorst only gave the people a better, more education in order to succeed in educating the English out of India." The speeches made at the Congress session were quoted to show that they were highly prejudicial to British interests "Indeed, if the world was governed by folk," one of the writers said "the Hindus and the Irish would be ruling races of mankind." They were highly critical of the proposal of the Congress to substitute the Viceregal Council with an assembly of which half of the members are to be elected and this assembly should be given all legislative and financial powers. "Was ever an Imperial nation so cruelly requested to abdicate authority and surrender its more cherished possessions to men whose fitness to rule is based simply on a certain imitative capacity to make long speeches." The Government was urgerd by these elements to give up their attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards the Congress and to put a stop to these meetings of the Congress at present, a few years hence, such a course would be too late. The Government was urged to give up the pretence that "we keep India merely for the benefit of the people of that country and in order to train them for self-Government. We keep it for the sake of the interest and the honour of England and the only form of Government by which we can continue to hold it in subjection is that of despotism."21

The Congress this year met (1890) at Calcutta under the presidentship of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta<sup>22</sup> who was proud of its success. "We have survived the ridicule, the abuse and the misrepresentation" he declared. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyality. We have also survived the charge of being a "microscopic minority." We have survived the charge of

<sup>21.</sup> Asiatic Quarterly Review, January-April, Vol. VII, 1889.

being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise,<sup>23</sup> he concluded. As regards the peaceful and loyal aims of the Congress, the President quoted the testimony of no less a person than Lord Randolph Churchill, former Secretary of State who declared publicly that "he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people."24 The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mano Mohan Ghose claimed in his welcome address that the "Congress represents the thinking portion of the people of India. The delegates present here today, he said, are the chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people who have learnt to think and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity."25 He condemned the British policy of "Divide & Rule" as "unworthy of the great English people" and fraught with ultimate danger "to the safety of the British Empire."26

Some sensation had been caused on the eve of the session due to a notice which appeared in certain English newspapers prohibiting Government servants from attending even as visitors the meetings of the Indian National Congress. Moreover the admission tickets sent to the Lieutenant Governor and his household were also returned on the plea that "the orders of the Government of of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings." A reference was made to the Viceroy who at once declared that the "Belvidere interpretation of the order of Government of India was a clear misapprehension that in the opinion of the Government the Congress movement was "perfectly legitimate in itself, that the Government of India recognise that the Congress Movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced liberal party as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinion which

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<sup>23.</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>24.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1890, p. 6. 25. Ibid

<sup>26.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27.</sup> For details and letters, refer to Proc. I.N.C., 1891, p. 86.

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exists side by side with it and that the real attitude of the Govern men was one of perfect neutrality in relation to both parties."29 1 was also made clear that it is only from participation that the Government servants were necessarily debarred but even this restriction was not to apply to Government pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good. 30 Lord Lansdowne went further and invited the delegates not as such it is true, but as "distinguished visitors" to the garden party Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras, followed suit when the Congress was held there next year and even helped the Reception Committee with supplies from the Government House. It will be of interest to note what the programme of the Congress was at this time (1890) as detailed in the journal India (May 23, 1890). It was at this session of 1890 that the Congress decided upon the bold adventure of holding its session in London itself with 100 delegates so as to impress upon the British public the volume as well as the strength of the Indian demands.31

During the year 1890 and 1891 Hume was in despair. The Government did not seem to be willing to accede to any of the Congress demands which were repeated year after year from its platform. Even the Congress request for the separation of executive from judiciary applauded as a "counsel of perfection" by Lord Dufferin had not been put into practice. Then there was paucity of funds which aggravated the matter still further.32 So Hume, in this frame of mind, it appears thought of suspending the Indian National Congress.33 This proposal created a great stir throughout the country. Some Muslim-owned newspapers like the Nizam ul Mulk (Moradabad),34 Mehr-i-Nimros (Bijnor)35 and Akhbar-I-Alam (Meerut) supported and even praised the proposal saying that "no good has accrued from the National Congress and

<sup>29.</sup> Mazumdar, A. C., op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1891. p. 66

<sup>32.</sup> Dadabhai to Wacha, December 23, 1891, Dadabhai by Masani, pp. 308-14.

<sup>33.</sup> Ibid. Also Native Newspaers Report for Punjab, N.W.P. & Oudh (1871-91), p. 858.

<sup>34.</sup> December 20, 1891, N.N.R. (1871-91) Punjab, NW.P. and Oudh, p. 858.

<sup>~35.</sup> Ibid., p. 589.

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that the time and money spent on it by its supporters have been simply thrown away. It has failed to influence Government in any way which continues to conduct the administration according to its own sweet will,"36 and that the Congress on the other hand had "created ill feeling between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities and produced doubts in the mind of the Government about the loyalty of the natives."37 While other papers like the Rahbar (Moradabad) pleaded that the "abolition of the Congress would be an ill-advised measure. Its supporters should not be disheartened if the Government has not yet granted their requests. It is a very useful institution and has given valuable political education to natives during the seven years of its existence. Even if it does not do any other good, it deserves to be maintained as a political school for natives." As regards the annual expenditure on Congress sessions the paper asserted that "there are men who can contribute the amount without any difficulty."38 Dadabhai also wrote in the same strain to Hume "The Congress meetings should not be stopped. Such an action will put back India's progress a generation or at least for years.....you have already achieved a great deal in rousing up the people. Don't give them up now."39

There was a good deal of discussion about this matter in the next session of the Congress held at Nagpur under the presidentship of Ananda Charlu. Surendranath Bannerjea in a spirited speech condemned this idea to "abandon the Congress, the standard round which we have fought for the last eight years, the standard which we trust one day to carry proudly before us to victory. No, we will do nothing of the kind. We mean to stick to the Congress. We mean to hold to it from years' end to years' end until we have won for ourselves these rights and privileges to which we are indefeasibly entitled."40 Pt. Ajudhia Nath was no less emphatic when he declared: "India means to carry on this movement or as our opponents call it, agitation (be it so) so long as our reasonable demands are not granted and if Government defer the granting

<sup>36.</sup> Mihr-i-Nimroz, December 21, 1891.

<sup>37.</sup> Nizam-ul-Mulk (Moradabad) December 20, 1891.

<sup>38.</sup> Rahbar, Dec. 20, 1891, N.N.R., Punjab, N.W.P. & Oudh, pp. 308-14. 39. Dadabhai to Hume, Oct. 14, 1891, N.N.R., Punjab, N.W.P. & Oudh, 308-14

<sup>40.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1891, p. 11

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of these demands, the Government and the British Parliament and the British nation will be responsible before man and God for the waste of India's time, India's money and India's energy."<sup>41</sup> P. Ananda Charlu in his Presidential Address had made a passionate appeal to Congressmen to "penetrate to the masses and "deeply imbue them with the spirit of the Congress. "It becomes our bounden duty" he declared "to go more amid the masses and to saturate their minds with the aspirations of a united nationality." Though as yet their efforts had not been met with much success, yet the Congress platform is the field on which such bloodless triumphs are to be won.<sup>42</sup>

Like many of her noble-minded Britains, Justice McCarthy's advice to the British Government that it was high time that the Government should listen to the views and demands of the Indian people as put forward by the Congress had also fallen on deaf ears. "You must have the voice of India, you must know what its population wish for themselves and till you hear that voice speaking to you directly as people unto people you cannot possibly hope to govern with stability and with safety a great country like India," he had warned.43 Hume was becoming impatient. All his efforts to open the eyes of the British authorities to the realities of the situation had proved of no avail. In his famous circular dated Feb. 16, 1892 addressed to Congressmen and marked private and confidential, he gave vent to his feelings of frustration. The existing system of administration, he pointed out, was not only pauperizing the people but also inevitably preparing the way for "one of the most terrible catclysms in the history of the world." He warned the rich and the well-to-do "Do not fancy that Government will be able to protect you or itself. No earthly power can stem an universal agrarian rising in a country like this. My countrymen will be as men in the desert vainly struggling for a brief space, against the Simon. Thousands of the rioters may be killed but to what avail when there are millions on millions who have nothing to look forward to but death—nothing to hope for but vengeance, as for leaders when the hour comes—be sure there will

<sup>41.</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>42.</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>43.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1895, p. iii.

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be no lack of leaders. This is no hypothesis—it is a certainity.'44 This letter came to be published much to the "consternation of the writer and his colleagues." The hostile press made capital out of it and the British Committee had to express regrets that such an injudicious letter should have been circulated.

However, the continuous agitation of the Congress for six years led to the passing of the Council Act of 1892-exactly thirty-one years after the Act of 1861. "The number of members was increased and provision was made for the nomination of some members," writes Sir Chintamani, "the recommendation of statutory local bodies, universities and chambers of commerce though the principle of election was not recognised in terms."45 And Gokhale had to tell the Congress at Lahore that "if the officer who drafted the Rules for Bombay had been asked to sit down with the deliberate purpose of framing a scheme to defeat the object of the Act of 1892, he could not have done better."46 Disappointed even in their moderate expectations, the Congress leaders yet felt that they had proved the value of their method of agitating public opinion both in India and in England in order to gain results. Dadabhai gave the credit for the Act to the Congress.47 With regard to the other important demand of the Congress to hold simultaneous examinations in India and England for all the civil services, "it would not have become a practical fact by the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June," declared the Grand Old Man of India in his Presidential address at the Lahore Session of 1893 "had it not been to a large extent for your perservering but constitutional demand for it made with moderation during the years of your existence."48 They had also succeeded not only in creating British interest in Indian affairs but were also able to send an Indian to the House of Commons.49 The President also conveyed to the delegates to the Lahore session which "far surpassed in magnificence the sessions at Nagpur and

<sup>44.</sup> Masani, op. cit.

<sup>45.</sup> Chitamani, G. Y., Indian Politics Since the Mutiny, pp. 25-26.

<sup>46.</sup> Zacharias, H.E.C. Renascent India, p. 126. 47. Proc. I.N.C., 1893, pp. 16-17.

<sup>48.</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>49.</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

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Allahabad" the message of the Irish Home Rulers. "Do not forget" they told Dadabhai before he left England, "to tell your colleague that everyone of Ireland Home Rule members in Parliament are at your back in the cause of the Indian people."50 Sardar Davel Singh Majithia who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee discounted the assertion that the "Congress is a Babu movement and the martial races of India have no sympathy with it. This great assembly is a living refutation of all assertions of that description,"51 he declared. The Congress had come triumphant through all tests. Not only did Congressmen survive all the desperate attacks of opponents but "have actually grown so influential," said the Sardar, "that when a short time ago an attempt was made to set up an anti-Congress demonstration in one of the important cities of this province not far from the capital, the all-powerful district officer actually discouraged the attempt on the ground that such a demonstration even though backed by all the official influence of that place would prove perfectly abortive and quite inadequate for the purpose of stemming the tide of educated public opinion in favour of the national movement."52

It was at the Madras session (1894) that the rules for the conduct of business were first framed. The proceedings were marked by a considerable excitement over the question of two fresh taxes proposed to be levied on the already overburdened Indian tax payer. The Congress strongly protested against "the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant mill industry of this country,"53 and the Congress also "put on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrified to those of Lancashire."54 The other was the levy of an arbitrary penalty in the shape of costs of punitive police forces quartered in disturbed areas under an amendment of the Indian Police Act of 1861."55

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51.</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>52.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1894, p. 30.

<sup>54.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55.</sup> Mazumdar, A. C., op. cit., p. 86.

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Indian National Congress had come to be a potent factor in Indian affairs and even the London Times had to admit in its editorial of January 5, 1894, that among the many movements moral and political now stirring the life of the Indian people "the Indian National Congress holds a foremost place" and "it is from the fact that it is only one of many and that it is the product of an isolated agitation but of a general social awakening that it derives its true significance."56 Surendranath Bannerjea in his Presidential Address at the Poona Congress next year held out hopes of a golden age which was "looming in the future. There is a golden age in store for us and our children. It is this feeling which reconciles us to the present. We feel that if the political freedom in the sense in which it is enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere is not to be our lot, it will be the inheritance of those, who coming after us, will hear our names and carry on our work. In that faith we work. In that faith we ask others to work."57 "Let it not be said," he declared "that the enthusiasm which animated us in the first days of the Congress movement is on the wane. The past ought to encourage us. The future ought to stir us into enthusiasm. The noblest heritage which we can leave to our children and our children's children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and the fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people."58 The Congress here registered a strong protest against a bill introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council to amend the Legal Practitioners' Act of 1879 by which the provincial legal practitioners were sought to be completely subordinated to the District Judges and the Revenue Commissioners. And as Subba Rao (from Madras) declared, "This bill strikes at the root of the independence of the bar, lowers its prestige, impairs its usefulness and tends to destroy the security of the public in the protection of their property, their liberty and their lives."59 It will also destroy the independence of the members of the membe bers of the bar who "have taken their place as leaders to some

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<sup>56.</sup> Proc. I.N,C., 1895, p. iv.

<sup>57.</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-17.

<sup>58.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59.</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

extent of public spirit and as interpreters to some extent between the rules and the ruled."60

Rahimut Ullah Muhammad Sayani, President of the Calcum. session (1896) in a scholarly address<sup>61</sup> traced the origin, histor and aims and objects of the Congress. He dealt in detail with the causes of the Muslim apathy towards the Congress and gar replies to their objections. It was a masterly address, typical the liberal Muslim opinion. He made a passionate appeal to he co-religionists to "actively co-operate in all the public movement in the country generally and especially our good Congress, the germ of our future federated Parliament.....with hearts home true and unselfish.....and thus participate in our great bloodles battle for justice and freedom and especially make a beginning now, when all our minor anxieties are overshadowed by the clork now impending over our beloved land in which we too plain discern the spectre of famine frowning upon a teeming, frugal at ceaselessly industrious population and join in asking redress: the hands of Government and in expressing disapproval of the mistaken system."62

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<sup>60.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61.</sup> For Sayani's Presidential Address refer to Proc. I.N.C. 1896, pp. 18-462. Ibid.

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# Travancore and The Paramount Power -A Study in Wartime Relationship

BY

### P. G. EDWIN

The relations between the Native States and the Paramount Power constitute an important aspect of British Colonialism in India. Britian's relations with the Princely States were based on a network of subsidiary treaties entered into by the English East India Company with the rulers of the states. It was the consistent policy of the British Government to tighten its control over the Native States which was achieved through a judicious interpretation of the treaties and an assiduous cultivation of political practices. The two world wars of the present century provided an excellent opportunity for the rulers of the Indian States to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown and for the Paramount power to test the loyalty of the Princes and thereby extract from them the maximum contributions to the war effort. In this paper an attempt is made to asses the impact of the world wars on the relations between the Princely State of Travancore and the British Government and deduce conclusions regarding the nature of and the motives involved in their reciprocal relationship.

Long before she emerged as the supreme power in India, Britian had close relations with Travancore. From the very inception of the East India Company the shores of this maritime State were frequented by English merchants. The State was rich in spices and calico and the merchants came here in quest of these precious commodities. Travancore was the first among the states in India to enter into treaty relations with the English. K. M. Panikkar has said: "The first treaty entered into by the East India Company with an Indian State was the Treaty of Anjengo with the Raja of Travancore which was negotiated by Dr. Alexander Orme, the historian's father, who was the chief of the Anjengo

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factory." This treaty signed in 1723 was more than a trade agreement; it had political implications. The Raja offered to build a fort at Colachel in South Travancore and the Company promised to supply the artillery and munitions of war for the fort. Article 6 of the Treaty declared that the king of Travancore "will be in league and united in good friendship with the Honourable Company."

During the wars with Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, the British invariably found the Raja of Travancore a steadfast ally. In the Second Mysore war Travancore forces fought on the side of the English against the Sultan of Mysore. The help rendered by the State was greatly appreciated and Travancore was particularly mentioned in the Treaty of Mangalore, 1784 as an ally of the Company. It was this commitment that prompted Cornwallis to declare war on Tipu Sultan in 1789 when the latter invaded Travancore.

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It was towards the close of the 18th century that Travancore became a subsidiary ally of the East India Company. In 1795 a formal treaty was concluded by which the Company agreed to protect Travancore from foreign aggression.<sup>5</sup> By a subsequent treaty signed in 1805, the subsidy was enhanced and the state was brought under the effective control of the Company. Eventually the subsidy payable by Travancore was fixed at Rs. 8 lakhs per annum.<sup>6</sup> The 19th century witnessed a steady growth of British authority in the state and every branch of the State administration was brought under the control of the Resident. With the exception of Swati Tirunal (1847–1860) the rulers of Travancore tried their

<sup>1.</sup> K. M. Panikkar, Relations of Indian States with the Government of India, (London, 1927), pp. 5, 6.

<sup>2.</sup> W. Logan, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other papers of importance relating to British affairs in Malabar, (Madras, 1951), p. 207.

<sup>3.</sup> C. U. Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads, (Vol. viii), (Calcutta, 1892), p. 109.

<sup>4.</sup> P. Shungoonny Menon, A History of Travancore, (Madras, 1878), p. 207.

<sup>5.</sup> C. U. Aitchison, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>-, 6.</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

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utmost to maintain friendly relations with the British Government and never failed to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown.

With the dawn of the 20th century, there was a marked change in the British policy towards the Indian States. Alarmed at the rapid growth of nationalism in the country and the agitational approach of the Indian National Congress the British Government was constrained to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the states. The princes were no longer viewed with suspicion and their co-operation was eagerly sought. It was the intention of the British Government to use the princely order in India as a counterpoise against the national movement. The Princes too had no sympathy towards the National Movement and let loose a policy of repression in dealing with such movements within their borders. They reaffirmed their faith in the invincibility of British power and matched their profession of loyalty by appropriate action when the occasion arose.

The First World War provided an opportunity for the British Government to test the loyalty of the princes and for the latter to act in such a way as to justify the trust reposed in them. The Maharaja of Travancore strongly condemned German militarism and offered his unqualified support to the Paramount Power. "He placed all the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty, the King Emperor and at a later stage when the tension of the conflict became severe exhorted his subjects in a soulstirring message to help the cause of the Empire to the utmost limit of their capacity."

The people responded magnificently to their sovereign's appeal and made substantial contributions to the war effort. Many of them enlisted for active service and others invested their money in War Bonds. The State Government granted many concessions to those who volunteered for military service. Special facilities were provided for the veterans in the matter of land assignments.

The contributions made by the State Government towards the war effort, were substantial. Sir M. Krishnan Nair, the Dewan of Travancore in his address to the State assembly informed the

Assembly, (see the Travancore Almanac and Directory for 1920, p. vii).

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house that His Highness "made a further contribution of one lake of rupees to the Madras War Fund and the State had so far invested 15 lakhs of rupees in the Government of India War Bonds."8 The Maharaja and the officers of the State made monthly contributions towards the maintenance of the hospital ship 'Madras' which rendered invaluable service in connection with war reliefs The State Government did everything in its power to encourage recruitment from Travancore to the British Army. To facilitate recruitment, an official of the State Government was appointed District Assistant Recruiting Officer for Travancore. Any attempt to dissuade people from joining the army was seriously dealt with A Proclamation dated 6 July 1918 stated: "No person shall dissuade or attempt to dissuade or abet the dissuation of any person from entering the military or police service of His Majesty, the King Emperor."10 Apart from the facilities provided for direct recruitment to the Indian Army, the Maharaja offered to place the State forces at the disposal of the British Government. The Travancore Army known as the Nair Brigade was sent out to supplement the British forces. Attached to the 73rd infantry of the Indian Army, the Travancore soldiers acquitted themselves creditably and the officer commanding the Regiment spoke high of their performance.11

Apart from the substantial aid given by the State, the entire administration was placed on a war footing. A state of emergency was declared and all activities likely to undermine the war effort were put down with a heavy hand. Restrictions were imposed on the press. A royal proclamation issued in August 1914 prohibited the publication of any news regarding the movements of troops, ships or aircraft other than the information supplied by the Government.12 Those who were guilty of such offences were liable to imprisonment for one year or a fine up to Rs. 5,000/or both.13 No court was authorised to try an offence punishable under this proclamation unless upon a complaint made by the

<sup>8.</sup> The Travancore Almanac and Directory for 1920, p. vii.

<sup>10.</sup> Travancore Government Gazette, dated 9 July 1918.

<sup>11.</sup> The Travancore Almanac and Directory for 1920, p. vii. 12. Travancore Government Gazette Extraordinary, dated 15 August 1914.

Government itself.14 The entry of foreigners was restricted and their movements within the state were closely watched. By a Government Notification dated 19 August 1914 all non-Asiatic foreigners, who had not received permission to reside in Travancore, were ordered to appear and register themselves within 24 hours before the British Resident and report themselves periodically if so required by the Resident.15 All Germans and Austrains residing in Travancore were asked to surrender to the Resident within 24 hours, all arms and ammunition in their possession.16 It was also stated in the Notification that infringement of these orders would entail expulsion from the state.17

The war had its impact on the finances of the state. The revenues for the year 1914-15 registered a sharp decline compared to the sound financial position of the preceding years. Travancore was a maritime state and customs and excise formed the mainstay of her finance. The sea-borne trade was adversely affected by the war and exports dwindled. There was a considerable decline in the revenues from customs, stamps and registration in 1914-15.18 But there was compensation from other sources. In 1916-'17 the State received more than two lakhs of rupees by way of interest on loans made to the Government of India.19 Reference was already made to the substantial sum of Rs. 15 lakhs invested by the State in the Government of India War Bonds. Realising the merits of such investments, a further sum of Rs. 10 lakhs was invested in War Bonds during the year 1917-18.20 While revenues under certain heads declined, expenditure steadily increased during the war period. In 1918-'19 an extraordinary expenditure to the tune of Rs. 8 lakhs was incurred and the increase was partly due to contributions made to the war funds.21

The war brought about a definite change in the attitude of the British Government towards the India States. The Princes rallied

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<sup>14.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15.</sup> Travancore Government Gazette, dated 8 Sept., 1914. 16. Ibid.

<sup>17.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18.</sup> T. K. Velu Pillai, The Travancore State Manual, (Vol. II), (Trivandrum, 1940), p. 708.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20.</sup> Ibid. 21. Ibid.

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to fight for the Empire in its hour of peril and offered to place their resources at the disposal of the Paramount Power. "Not only did they help Britian lavishly with men, material and money but some of them even served as officers in the different theatres of war."22 Some of the leading princes who participated in the war time conferences convened by the Viceroy stressed the essential identity of interests between the states and the British Indian Provinces. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on constitutional Reforms there was special reference to the princes and their problems. The authors of the Report urged that steps should be taken for joint consultation by the rulers of Indian States for the promotion of their common interests and recommended the formation of a permanent consultative committee.23 The Chamber of Princes was accordingly set up in 1921. All those rulers who were entitled to permanent dynastic salutes of eleven guns and more were qualified for individual admission. The Maharaja of Travancore was entitled to a salute of 19 guns and the state was admitted to the Chamber as a fullfledged member. The establishment of the Chamber of Princes ended the period of isolation and inaugurated a policy of active cooperation among the rulers.

The Second World War afforded greater opportunities to the Princes to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown. The Congress which gave unconditional support to Britian in the First War now adopted a hostile attitude. The Congress Working Committee characterised the war as an imperialist war and categorically stated that they "cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialistic lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere." Under the circumstances, Britian could count only on the loyal support of the native Princes and more reliance was placed on their co-operation. The Princes, on their part reaffirmed their loyalty to the British Crown and wholeheartedly supported the cause of the Empire.

<sup>22.</sup> V. P. Menon, The Story of the Integration of the Indian States, (New York, 1956), p. 12.

Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para, 306.
 The Resolution of the Congress Working Committee, dated 15 Sept.

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As soon as war was declared, the Maharaja of Travancore issued a proclamation promulgating the Defence of Travancore Rules.<sup>25</sup> It was a comprehensive document consisting of 131 sections drawn up largely on the lines of the Defence of India Rules issued by the Government of India on 3 Sep. 1939.26 The Defence of Travancore Rules, among other things, imposed restrictions on the movements and activities of persons, denied access to certain places and areas, imposed restrictions on foreigners and adequately provided for the control of arms and explosives. As a loyal ally of the British Crown the Maharaja placed the entire resources of his state at the disposal of the British Goverment.27 Of all the states in India, Travancore was worst hit by this war. Commenting on the gravity of the situation, Sri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore said: "I can assert with some confidence that excepting the centres of war like England or the Near East there is perhaps no part of the far-flung British Empire where the impact or the disastrous consequences of the war are more evident than in the state of Travancore."28 While the other states derived the bulk of their income from land revenue and related heads, Travancore, being a maritime state, concentrated on her exports and hence customs duties formed an important part of her revenues. Food production was neglected and more lands were brought under the cultivation of commercial crops like tea, rubber, pepper, cardamom and ginger which yielded substantial income to the state. The growing competition from countries like Ceylon, Burma and Malaya which were also engaged in the cultivation of cash crops and restrictions imposed on exports by the war put great strain on the economy of the state. Neglect of food production made the state depend on Burma and Siam for import of rice, which was the staple diet of her people. In times of war it became increasingly difficult for the state to procure supplies from outside. The Japanese conquest of Burma cut off all supplies from that source. The Dewan said. "Export and import on which Travancore mainly relies for sustenance—not for profit so much

<sup>25.</sup> Travancore Government Gazette, Extraordinary, dated 9 Sep. 1939.

<sup>26.</sup> For details see the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated 3 Sep. 1939.

27. Report

<sup>27.</sup> Report on the Administration of Travancore for 1939-40, p. 8.

28. Dewan's Budget speech, dated 21 July 1941 (see, Proceedings of the Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly, Vol. XVIII, p. 20).

as for sustenance—these are greatly threatened.'29 That Britain should win this war thus became a necessity for Travancore and the sooner it was achieved the better for both sides.

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As a trusted ally of the British Government, the Maharaja of Travancore rendered assistance to Britian's war effort on a massive scale. The administrative machinery of the state was geared to meet the needs of the war. An all-out effort was made at all levels of state activity to raise men, material and money for the war. The quantum of assistance rendered was so great and so varied that it should be assessed under appropriate heads.

The contributions made by Travancore to the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Air Force deserve special mention. A warship built at a cost of Rs. 61/2 lakhs was presented to the Navy.30 It was a trawler and a mine sweeper named "H.M.I.S. Travancore" the first warship to be built in India. To the Royal Air Force the Maharaja contributed two fighter planes "Travancore I" and "Travancore II" at a cost of Rs. 11/2 lakhs. The Viceroy, in a communique, expressed his gratitude to the Maharaja for this generous gift.31 The Travancore State Forces were also placed at the disposal of the British Government. Two infantry divisions of the State Forces were sent on active Service. They were attached to the Indian Army but the entire expenditure for their maintenance was borne by the State Government.32 Consequent on the departure of these two infantry divisions, the military strength of the State was considerably depleted and a third infantry division was raised for the task of maintaining internal security. A Signal Platoon of this division was deputed for active service with the Indian Signal Corps. Another unit called the Travancore General Purposes Transport Company was also formed and the company left the state in May, 1941 for active service. Apart from these contributions, the Maharaja donated liberally to the Viceroy's war fund and various organisations engaged in relief work.

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<sup>29.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30.</sup> Travancore Information for July 1941, p. 12.

<sup>31.</sup> Communique, dated 15 Jan. 1941 (See Travancore Information for February 1941, p. 76).

Travancore Information and Listener for Oct. 1943, p. 46.

The contributions made by the ruler of Travancore amounted to Rs. 28,51,050 as apportioned below: 33

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1.			Rs.	6,50,000
	Navy The Cost of two fighter planes donated t			
2.	the Air Force		"	1,50,000
3.	To the Viceroy's War Fund		,,	15,35,050
	To the Viceroy's Comforts Fund		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	2,00,000
4.	To the viceroy's commercial			1,50,000
5.	Towards Women's Work	1000	"	
c	To the Red Cross		"	1,10,000
7	To King George's Fund for Sailors		,,	30,000
8.	Other contributions		,,	26 000
0.				
	Total		22	28,51,050

To ensure people's participation and to coordinate their war efforts, the Travancore War Purposes Central Committee was formed with the Dewan as its president.34 Three District Committees, 17 municipal Committees and a number of Taluk Committees were also formed for the purpose and their activities were coordinated by the Central Committee. To ensure efficiency and speed, the Central Committee functioned through its Sub-Committees such as 1. The Executive Committee; 2. Finance Sub-Committee; 3. Women's Sub-Committee; 4. Sub-Committee for training in first aid and fire fighting; 5. Sub-Committee for propaganda.

Under the auspices of the Women's Sub-Committee, the Women of Travancore made notable contributions to the war effort. Centres were opened for knitting garments and making Surgical appliances. Eleven packing cases filled with such articles Were sent to the Madras branch of the Joint War Charities for despatch to troops and military hospitals. The women of Travancore also provided one complete ambulance unit out of Rs. 4,500 generously contributed by Her Highness Sethu Parvati Bai and

34. Administration Report for 1939-'40, p. 8.

<sup>33.</sup> The amount shown is exclusive of the cost of maintaining two infantry divisions on active service at enhanced rates of pay.

presented the military hospitals at Colaba and Karachi with he x-ray sets at a cost of Rs. 6,500/- out of subscriptions collected from the Women of Trivandrum.35 The work done by the Women's Sub-Committee for the Red Cross was also highly commendable

Besides contributions made in men and money, Travancor, supplied essential war materials to the Government of India Articles like rubber, tea, timber, coir and carbonised coconut shelk were supplied by the state in large quantities to meet the need of the supply Departments of the Government of India. 'The Rubber factory at Trivandrum and the Ceramic factory at Kundara stepped up production to meet the needs of war. Travancore was the chief supplier of rubber to the Government of India for defend purposes.36 The forest department of the Travancore Government supplied valuable timber for defence purposes. In addition to the supplies made through Government agencies, private firms also supplied many articles ordered by the Central Government. The leading firms and industrialists of the state organised themselvs as the Travancore War Supplies Syndicate to deal with massive orders placed by the British Government. To coordinate the activities of the various organisations engaged in war supplies, the State Government appointed a Controller of War Supplies, to ad as a laison officer between the Government of India and the Travancore War Supplies Syndicate,37

The Coir Industry, which employed a large number of people and brought considerable revenue to the State in normal times suffered a heavy set-back during the war. The loss of its European markets created a slump in the coir industry throwing thousands of people out of employment. The State Government appealed to the Government of India to consider the suitability of coir materials for war purposes. The request was considered favourably and the State Government received substantial orders for the supply of tent components made of coir.38 The industry was thus saved from impending ruin. Due to acute shortage of coal in war time,

38. Ibid.

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Travancore Information for August 1941, p. 56.

Administration Report for the year 1944-45, p. 10. Administration Report for 1940-41, p. 15.

# TRAVANCORE AND THE PARAMOUNT POWER

there was great demand for carbonised coconut shell which could there was a certain cases as a substitute for coal. Travancore, which abounded in coconut and coconut products, was naturally approached by the Government of India for the supply of this commodity in large quantities. Production of carbonised coconut shell was taken up as a cottage industry in the villages of Travan-The State supplied 16,000 tons of carbonised coconut shell to the value of Rs. 14 lakhs.39

Travancore provided an excellent recruiting ground for the Indian Army. To facilitate recruitment, a Central War Recruiting Committee was set up.40 The committee selected 449 candidates for the King's commission in the various fighting forces. By the end of the year 1944-45, in addition to the Commissioned Officers and a large number of technicians, 81,300 men from Travancore joined the war service.41 To provide an adequate supply of labour force to the Indian Army, 93 labour units of about 845 men each were sent from the state to work in Assam and the neighbouring places.42 About 1,800 technicians were trained in the State and sent out for service in the Indian Army, Ordnance factories and firms engaged in defence production. Travancore and Mysore, between themselves supplied half the trained technical personnel recruited from the Indian States. 43 Several doctors, nurses and engineers from Travancore also joined war service. The recruits from Travancore, wherever they served, distinguished themselves by their exceptional ability, valour and devotion to duty. Travancore stood first among Indian States in the matter of recruitment to the fighting forces.44 The War Department of the Government of India expressed their gratitude to the Travancore Government for the splendid and untiring support extended to the cause of recruitment throughout the war.45

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<sup>39.</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>40.</sup> Administration Report for 1944-45, p. 9.

<sup>42.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43.</sup> Dewan's speech of 14 May 1945. (See Travancore Information and Listener for June 1945, p. 17. 44. Administration Report for 1944-45, p. 9.

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The University of Travancore also played an important role in organising the war effort. In response to an appeal from the Government of India, the University offered to give youngmen technical training for employment in the various technical branches of the Indian army. The workshop of the College of Engineering at Trivandrum worked day and night turning out technicians on a large scale.<sup>46</sup> The University also agreed to admit to its courses Indian students whose studies in British Universities were disrupted by the war.<sup>47</sup>

The foregoing review reveals the nature and implications of the reciprocal relationship that existed between Travancore and the Paramount Power in times of international conflicts. The war provided the occasion for Britain and the Native states of India to realise how much they needed each other's help in times of emergency. The generous contributions made by the Indian states proved their steadfast lovalty to the British crown. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in his speech on the occasion of the Victory Day celebrations, disclosed that out of the 11.64 crores of rupees received by the Viceroy's War purposes Fund for giving relief to the Combatant Forces, a sum of 6.5 crores was contributed by the Indian states alone.48 The unflinching loyalty shown by the Indian States was particularly significant at a time when the political situation in India was tense. The refusal of the Congress to co-operate with Britain in the war, the Quit India Movement launched by Gandhiji, the growth of terrorist activities in the country and the rapid advance of the Japanese troops to the borders of India-all these disturbing factors made Britain lean heavily on the Indian princes at a time when she was passing through one of the worst crises in history.

The rulers of the States knew that their fortunes were closely linked with those of the Paramount Power and for them it was essential that Britain should come out of the war unscathed. Britain's victory in the Second World War was indispensable for

<sup>46.</sup> Administration Report for 1840-41, p. 14.

<sup>47.</sup> Administration Report for 1939-40, p. 8.

48. Speech at Trivandrum, dated 14 May 1945. (See Travancore Information and Listener for June, 1945, p. 16).

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the very survival of the states. At a time when their own position was threatened by the onset of political agitation within their borders, victory for the Empire was their only hope. Being autocrats they persistently refused to share power with their people and adopted a policy of repression in dealing with popular movements in their states. They realised that they were isolated from their people and this realisation made them cling to the Paramount power for their own survival. It was in this context that they placed themselves and the entire resources of their states at the disposal of the British Government.

Among the Native States of India, Travancore enjoyed a unique position and for that reason she had to feel the full impact of international conflicts. In point of literacy Travancore was far ahead of the rest of the country and her people were more politically conscious than those of the other states. During the Second World War the political situation in the state was tense. The Travancore State Congress intensified their agitation to press their demand for responsible government. The Quit India Movement had serious repercussions in the state. The administration headed by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar adopted repressive measures to meet the situation. Under the circumstances it became all the more necessary for the royal house of Travancore to get the sympathy and support of Great Britain to maintain their position. The peculiar situation in which the state was placed and the special problems it had to face largely explain the profusion of loyalty shown by the ruler and the generous contributions made by him to the war effort.

Another reason that prompted the state to stand by Britain and contribute so liberally to the war effort was her vulnerability to attacks from the sea. Being a maritime state with a long coast line, she was naturally exposed to such attacks. Dependence on imported food and the export of commercial crops to sustain her economy made her position insecure in times of war. Such were the problems of a maritime state like Travancore and no wonder, of all the Indian states, she was most interested in contributing to Britain's war effort.

Sentiment also played its part in strengthening the bond between Travancore and the Paramount Power during this crucial

period. Ever since Martanda Varma gave his dying injunction to the heir apparent that the friendship and alliance between the state and the British Government must be maintained at all cost, the rulers of Travancore bound themselves by the closest ties to the British Power. True to the traditions of their illustrious house, which for a century and a half stood by the side of Great Britian as a staunch ally and a faithful friend, the rulers of Travancore responded magnificently to the call of the Empire in times of war and amply demonstrated their loyalty to the British crown by their words and their deeds.

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### The Problem of Two Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscriptions

BY

### B. C. SINHA

The successor of Vasumitra is called Bhadraka in the Bhagavata Purāṇa, Ardraka and Odruka in the Viṣṇu, Andhraka in the Vāyu and Antaka in the Matsya Purāṇa. 1 Dr. K. P. Jayaswal identified him with Udaka, a name occuring in Pabhosa inscription, No. 904. He has given good reason for supposing that the original form, from which all these varieties are derived was Oduaka.2 But we must recognise that an error has crept into the text of the Puranas, which as they stand assign either two or seven years to this king.3 The Pabhosa epigraph has been translated thus: "By Asodhsena, the son of Gopali Vaihidari and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopali, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udaka for the use of the Kassapia Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosa inscription that Asadhasena belonged to the royal family of Ahichhatra, the capital of North Pancala. Dr. Jayaswal held that Odraka was the paramount Sunga sovereign, while the family of Asadhosena was feudatory to the Sungas. The identification of Odraka with Udaka has no solid basis. Is it not possible that this Udaka might have been a ruler of Ahichhatra and Asadhasena was his near relative? Pabhosa inscription only says that Asadhasena belonged to the foyal family of Ahichhatra. Dr. Barua4 points out that in the absence of the word Rajno preceding Udaka, it is difficult to say at once whether Udaka is the personal name of a king, or the local name of a place, where the cave was excavated.

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<sup>1.</sup> H. C. Raichoudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 328.

<sup>2.</sup> Cambridge History of India, p. 469.

<sup>3.</sup> K. P. Jayaswal, JBORS, 1917, pp. 473-5. 4. IHQ, 1930, p. 23.

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Sir John Marshall<sup>5</sup> on the other hand identified the so called fifth Sunga king with Kasiputra Bhagabhadra mentioned in a Garuda Pıllar inscription found in the old city of Vidisa. De Jayaswal identified Bhagabhadra with the ninth Sunga king Bhagavata of the Puranas. But this theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuda Pillar inscription of the 12th year after the installation of Maharaja Bhagavata, It proves that there was at Vidisa, a king named Bhagavata apart from Kasiputra Bhagabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting "Udaka" with Vidiśa, it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhagavata."6 In fact the so-called tifth, sixth and seventh Sunga monarchs were, Andhra rulers. The fourth Sunga king Vasumitra took up the life of ease and pleasure. The result was that the Sunga empire began to disintegrate. Bana tells us that he was killed by some Muladeva while enjoying a concert. Taking advantage of the murder of Vasumitra, Andhras occupied the throne at Pataliputra. Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha, these three appear to be extraneous to the Sunga dynasty as their inclusion creates a chronological anomaly. The Puranas assign a total duration of 112 years to the Sunga dynasty. But if we add up the period of these three kings, the total comes to 120 years. By excluding their period of 8 years we arrive at the true figure of 112 years.

At the time of Andhra occupation of Pataliputra Bhagabhadra the local viceroy of Vidiśa maintained his position against the Andhras. He might have been a close relation of the Sungas. We further assume that he was appointed Viceroy of Vidisa, during the reign of Vasumitra. Vasumitra was ruling at Pataliputra and after his murder Bhagabhadra declared himself the king of Vidiśa

But it has to be remembered that he always remained loyal to the Sunga family. In order to strengthen his position against the Andhras he sought friendly alliance with the Indo-Greeks. This alliance was in the interest of both the parties. We learn from Besnagar inscription of the reign of Bhagabhadra that Maharaja Antialkidas of Taxila sent his ambassador Heliodoros to Vidisa

<sup>5.</sup> Sir John Marshall. A Guide to Sanchi, p. 11. 6. H. C. Raichoudhuri, op. cit., p. 329.

## BESNAGAR GARUDA PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

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when king Bhagabhadra was prospering in the fourteenth year when kinds of his reign. It was with the help of Bhagabhadra that the Sungas called regained their position after 8 years of the Andhra rule. Vajrain a mitra might have been the son of Vasumitra. Now there is no . Dr. Miculty about the other Besnagar Garuda Pillar inscription of the welfth year after the installation of Maharaja Bhagavata. He appears to be the ninth Sunga king according to the Puranic list, who had a long reign of 32 years.

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## Reviews

McRINDLE'S ANCIENT INDIA, AS DESCRIBED BY MEGAS—THENES AND ARRIAN, edited by Ramachandra Jain, Director, Institute of Bharatological Research, Sriganganagar, Rajas—than, published by Today & Tomorrow's Printers & Publishers, New Delhi, 1972, pp. LI + 263. Price Rs. 50/—

This book, a reprint of McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (originally published in 1877) is now being republished with a conculturuum, appendices, notes, bibliography and index by the editor.

The editor mentions in the Preface that the available histories of Bhārata suffer from several defects. One of the defects he mentions is that "the Bhāratīya historians give undue weightage to the Vedic and the Puranic sources of the Bhāratīya history." (p. V). He now sets out in his conculturuum to correct the errors in the present histories of India, in relation to the period of Megasthenes. Some of the corrections he proposes may be summarised as follows:

- (i) The sixteen Mahajanapadas were full-fledged jana republics, which after the first foreign 'Brahmaryan' conquest of Western Bhārata, became 'ganaised' or tribalised. The powerful centalised authority at the centre was developed to meet the extraneous onslaughts, keeping intact the republican pattern at the base.' (p. xi).
- (ii) The matriarchal system prevailed in Bhārata before the introduction of the patriarchal system by the foreign Brahmaryans.
- (iii) 'The great Shramanic hero' Ajātaśatru of the Nāga dynasty founded the city of Pāṭalīputra 'to suit his imperialistic of the Brahmaryans]' (p. xx).
- The description of the Sramanic and Brāhmanic philo-Megasthenes 'categorically proves that the Shramanic

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philosophy belonged to the pre-Brahmanic age and was me anterior to the rise of the Brahmanic philosophy and diffused light to the Greekaryan gentiles and to the Brahmaryan gentiles too' (p. xxiii).

- (v) The Uttarakuru region, located to the south of circumpolar region and to the north of the Caspian and Aral Seas, "was the Aryan cradle-land" (p. xxvii).
- (vi) Candragupta Maurya was a powerful and gloring monarch of the Prācya people. The people living to the east of Ahisthala (modern Hastinapur) were known to the Brahmārya as the Prācyas. "All the Prachyas were considered by the Brahmanas as Asuras, the non-Aryan Bharatiya people... The Prachyas were anti-Brahmanical people" (pp. xxix-xxx).
- (vii) D. C. Sircar and some earlier scholars have identific "Taprobane' with Ceylon, but this seems clearly to be won "Taprobane island was somewhere near the Patala island in the lower Sindh region" (p. xxxviii).
- (viii) "The Prachya Bharata had been enjoying republication in the Brahmaryan onslaughts increased on the east, the easter republics changed their pattern. The whole republican patter was kept intact . . . Ajatashatru led the way of more politic centralisation at the head, which Chandragupta efficiently perfect keeping intact the living republican traditions" (p. xliv).

These and other corrections proposed by the editor are high controversial and the correctness of some of them are dubious. Consider only two specimens—

(1) The editor's contention that the Sixteen Mahajanapada were "full-fledged jana republics" is not correct. A number them, e.g. Kōsala, Magadha, Avanti etc. were monarchies further contends that these Prācya republics developed a power centralised authority to meet the onslaughts of the foreign invade (whom he calls the Brahmaryans), keeping intact the republic pattern at the base. The idea of a monarchy, keeping intact to republican base is a strange pattern of political development indea

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(2) The editor disagrees with D. C. Sircar's identification of Taprobane' with Ceylon. In his opinion, "Taprobane island was Taplobane near the Patala island in the lower Sindh region." This identification is clearly against its mention in the Girnar rock edict of Asoka as 'Tambapañṇī.' The Pāli word is obviously a derivative of the Sinhalese original 'Tambaravari' (the united stream) (cf. N. L. Dey): The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India (Oriental Reprint, 1971, 9. 203). Further clarification is obtained from Megasthenes himself, who describes the country as "more productive of gold and large pearls than India," and "abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds." (pp. 62-63). The editor's conjecture that it is 'somewhere near the Patala island' cannot meet these references. The dubious identification of its people, the 'Palaiogonai,' with 'Pali-janas' (or the editor's 'Para-janas') cannot settle the issue, and hence the identification on its basis must remain a conjecture.

Besides the conculturuum and the Texts of Megasthenes and Arrian, there are six appendices, of which one is on historical personages and another on the historicity and age of Canakya. The identification of several Indian personages is open to question. Regarding the historicity and the age of Canakya, the editor states that "the Arthashastra .... could not have come in existence in the age of Chandragupta Maurya" (p. 237) and hence its authorship by Canakya dubious. Regarding the role of Canakya, the editor states that he was "a very small and inconspicuous collaborator of Chandragupta and hence, he found no recognition anywhere, not even in the Mauryan court" (p. 245). "The Arthashastra depicts the language, the society, the polity, the customs and manners, the economic system and thoughts of the Imperial Gupta age and not of the Maurya age" (p. 241). Even conceding that the Arthasastra was not written by Canakya, nor in the period of Candragupta Maurya, its internal evidence does not conclusively prove that it was written during the period of the Imperial Guptas either.

The book also contains a bibliography, an index and an errata list. The errata list is however not exhaustive. The printing and get-up of the book are good,

A. P. IBRAHIMKUNJU

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME, English Translation of Tarikh i Dilkasha (Memoirs of Bhimsen relating to Aurangzib's Deccan Campaigns)—Edited with notes and introduction by V. G. Khobrekar, Director of Archives & Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra. Published by the Department of Archives, Maharashtra, Bombay, January, 1972. Pp. 1–288, xiii, Price Rs. 5.25.

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The book seeks to commemorate the birth centenary of Sir Jadunath Sarkar (born, 10 December, 1870). The Director of Archives & Archaeology, Maharashtra has earned the sincere gratitude of the scholarly world for his great service in publishing it. In a short but valuable Introduction he has highlighted the interesting details about the author's life, described the mss. of Bhimsen's work and summed up the narrative. The Education Minister of Maharashtra has written the foreword.

It is indeed a fitting tribute to Jadunath's scholarship. The choice of this book for the commemoration volume also has been singularly fortunate. During his long sadhana extending to nearly 67 years (1891-1958) he had ceaselessly endeavoured to ransack source materials of history from different parts of Asia and Europe and make them available to scholars. Some of them were translated by him and published during his lifetime but many others, though translated, did not see the light of the day. The present work not only includes such an unpublished translation of a part of the memoirs of Bhimsen made by him but supplements it with a translation of another part. Again, the major content of these memoirs covers the history and geography of Peninsular India and especially of the Marathas and their country. Jadunath had very intimate contacts with Maharashtra and regarded it as his second home, cherished a high opinion about the Maratha mind, society and people. He carried on extensive tours in villages, towns and forts of Maharashtra for his historical researches, almost exactly in the same manner as an army officer would do and as Bhimsen actually did. Further Jadunath had a very high opinion about Bhimsen's qualities as a historian: "The value of Bhimsen's history lies in his extensive and accurate personal observation and his position .... He is .... free from the worst defects of the official

histories of the Mughal Emperors. Bhimsen knew the truth and could afford to tell it. He has also given true sketches of the characters of various historical personages of the time and pointed out their defects . . . . For Deccan history in the late 17th century, he is invaluable."

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The book is based on the mss. found in the India Office and the British Museum and hence is divided into two parts. Part I contains a translation made by the Maharashtra department of Archives from the photostat copy of Tarikh i Dilkasha preserved in India Office Library (mss. 94, ff. 1-104). It deals with the Mughal penetration to the Deccan up to the capture of Golkonda in 1687. This part has 33 chapters as follows: Chapter I. Invocations (pp. 1-2); Chapter II—Early History of Rao Dalpat Bundela (pp. 3-11); Chapter III—Aurangzeb's success in the War of Succession (pp. 12-23); Chapters IV-XXXIII dealing with the first 30 years of Aurangzeb's reign, Samvat 1714-43 or A.D. 1658-9 to 1687-88 (pp. 24-161). An abridged but partly incorrect translation of this part was published by Capt. Jonathan Scott, the Persian Secretary of Col. Popham in 1794 as 'Journal of a Boondelah Officer.' Translations in Marathi from this were made by Pandurang Narsimha Patwardhan in 1920 and Setu Madhav Rao Pagdi in 1963.

Part II contains the translation made by the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar from copy of Nuskha i Dilkasha preserved in British Museum (Mss. Or. 23 ff 95–158). It deals with the story of Mughal-Maratha struggle from 1687–88 up to Aurangzeb's death in 1707. This contains 20 chapters from 30th to 49th year of Aurangzeb's reign Samvat 1743–1762 (A.D. 1687–88 to 1706–07).

Of the few Hindu historians writing in Persian during the Mughal period Bhimsen Burhanpuri certainly occupies a very distinguished place. He has left enough material in his memoirs to enable his readers to know about his life, character, philosophy,—in brief as a man and as a writer. A Saksena kayastha of Uttar Pradesh, Bhimsen came to the Deccan in Mughal service along with his father, an accounts officer of artillery (mushrif), who settled in Burhanpur. At first he was his father's deputy, rising to an officer's post under Daud Khan and later as mushrif (1673-89) Rai Was diwan of the Deccan. His uncle, Dianat Was diwan of the Deccan. In 1689 Bhimsen became Secretary

of Rao Dalapat Bundela, the raja of Datia and the righthand man of Zulfigar Khan. On the latter's death in 1707 he retired and wrote his memoirs in Persian (pp. 20, 22, 37, 38, 40, 63). He was an evewitness of the events recorded here. He himself wrote his "impressions ... consciously gained by experience or observation... without any omission or addition." Expecting that "its reading and its meaning will evoke attraction and pleasure," he named it Dilkasha (p. 5). His humility is reflected in his acknowledgment that he was able to produce this work owing to divine kindness "when firmness of heart, consolidation of the inner-self, purity of deeds and improvements in general conditions, are not to be found" (p. 2). He hints at his philosophy of life and of history when he writes that by giving up his service and rank and living a retired life at Datia and Gwalior he "took the corner of isolation away from the society of men of wealth and fortune" so as "to keep his heart away from the chain of links of various relations which would enable me to have a firm collar of discarding this thing" (p. 2). Occasionally while writing his memoir he has made remarks on himself which are revealing. During his official career he "managed things in a worthy way and to the satisfaction of people ... and did not consider gold as better than rubbish" and now at its end he prayed to God for "recompense for my good deeds." and forgiveness for the bad ones. (p. 172). Even when suffering "from lack of resources" he had the strength to write that "courage looks all the more beautiful in the midst of poverty" (p. 223). A kind-hearted man, he used to love children (p. 60) and also enjoyed mirth. His love of nature and sense of beauty are also expressed at different places e.g., when he speaks of blossoming champa flowers in Bijapur (p. 166).

In some respects Bhimsen's style is comparable to that of contemporary Muslim writers. Though a Hindu he used the latter's terminology of abuse towards the Marathas and other Hindus. eg. 'wretched infidels' (p. 71), 'condemned culprits' (p. 72). Shivai's 'accursed place' of residence (p. 127), 'mischief mongers' (p. 134). 'luckless ones' (p. 173). He has also followed the Muslim tradition of tracing the genealogy of a person referred to (pp. 3, 8, 22, 56). His philosophic temper is also reflected in frequently interspersing his narrative, like other contemporary Muslim writers, with any verses, e.g., 'It is bad... to think oneself to be better than others.

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The lesson should be learnt from the pupil of the eye which sees one and all but itself' (p. 1). 'The only end in this world is this that the name remained here after death' (p. 21); 'The beauty of character and manners is the ornament of this world and religion. It is supposed to be good if it is with a beggar but it becomes excellent when it is found in the King' (p. 40); 'None can complete the work of the world fully. Hence whatever you do let it be within your resources' (p. 59); 'To do good to the evil people is like doing harm to good people' (65); 'The heart of a sincere friend is like a mirror in which is reflected the entire world and thus there is no point in expressing a desire, because it is obvious to a friend' (p. 77); 'Don't give up hope at the time of hardship and trouble because the black cloud brings white water' (p. 84). Sometimes these verses are full of satire.

However, unlike many Persian writers and official historians Bhimsen does not write in ornate, verbose and rhetorical style. He writes in simple, business-like prose, and does not indulge in courtly flattery. Further though the chapters are arranged according to the regnal years, he does not give the Hejira dates like the Muslim writers but mentions Vikram Samvat years.

Bhimsen's memoirs are of engrossing interest on account of their varied content. While political and military affairs do get precedence, he being an officer of the Mughal empire, these are enriched by reference to other aspects—namely administrative details, military technique and art of war, and socio-economic life. What he gives is valuable primarily because he was an eyewitness and he had a good eye for details. Being in intimate contact with many high officials, he could get accurate information. Yet he could be independent in his remarks as he did not write for royal ears.

As regards political history even as regards wellknown episodes Bhimsen's account is different. He did not have a high opinion about Shivaji (p. 49) and considers him to be the aggressor in the Afzal Khan incident (pp. 16-17). Regarding Shivaji's visit to Agra (p. 48) Bhimsen's account is somewhat different. The route of his escape (pp. 48-51) agrees with that of Khafi Khan and so differs from the evidence gleaned from Dingal letters. The account of Purandar campaign 1665 (pp. 44-45) generally agrees with that

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of the Haft Anjuman, except that the present work mentions 24 forts as against 23 of the Haft Anjuman and Alamgirnamah. Bhimsen has mentioned some facts not otherwise known, e.g. the appeal of the Bahmani Sultan Kalimullah to Babur against the usurpation of Barid (p. 220); the first Maratha raid into Malwa by Krishna Sawant (p. 216); and new details about Udairaj, Munshi of Jai Singh I (p. 53). He is the only contemporary writer to mention Rajaram's natural son Karna (p. 218).

Bhimsen's character sketches are excellent, being short, useful and marked by an independent spirit. He considers Mirza Raja Jai Singh to be 'unique' for his pleasant manners and 'excessive ways of generosity and benevolence,' high scholarship and knowledge of Persian and Turki (pp. 52-3). Curiously enough his opinion about Shivaji was not very high, though he has praised the latter's straightforwardness, qualities as a soldier and administrator, secretiveness, shrewdness and cunning (p. 127). His estimate of Aurangzeb shows his independence: "I have found the men of the world very greedy, so much so that an Emperor like Alamgir who is not want of anything' has been seized with such a longing and passion for taking forts that he personally runs about panting for some heaps of stone" (p. 223). "The Emperor... has given up attending to the happiness of his subjects. The wazirs and umaras have turned aside from giving good counsels. Therefore the condition of the country has become otherwise and it has reached such a ruin (that) the enemy are everywhere predominant and oppressive (but) nobody resists them" (p. 240). There are estimates also of many other personalities like Dilir Khan, Prince Muazzam, Mahabat Khan, Zulfiqar Subh Karan, Rao Karan, Sambhaji and Tarabai.

The book is valuable also for interesting sidelights on administration of the period (pp. 64, 100, 142)—the problems created by prolonged warfare, decline of administration (pp. 231-2), designations of various offices and the names of their holders, changes in staff, construction of public works like mosques (31), opening of sarais (61). We read of a novel administrative practice in those days, viz., supervisory control over officers (pp. 58-62). We have numerous references to problems of land revenue, prices

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of articles, and causes of their rise (20, 31). We are told how during periods of wars and plunders by soldiers grain and provisions became scarce, prices rose.

From the numerous interesting sidelights thrown by the memoirs on military campaigns it is clear that Bhimsen had a full grasp of the contemporary art of war. His account shows how geography—terrain and climate-influenced war. The difficulties presented by hills, passes (pp. 94, 128), forests (p. 221), rains (pp. 215, 221-3), rivers (pp. 67, 124, 170), nalahs (p. 94) and the need of selecting a site for entrenchment (p. 248) are graphically mentioned while ravines and rivers were negotiated by ladders and bridges respectively (pp. 209, 150, 188). While praising the 'smart swordsmanship' of the Rajputs and the Afghans (p. 153), Bhimsen does not speak well of psychology of the Rohillas "utterly devoid of intelligence and commonsense" (p. 85) and the proud but rash Rajputs (pp. 196, 247). He, however, refers to the national sentiments of the Afghans of Bijapur coming to join their co-nationals at Naldurg (p. 110). We also get a vivid picture of Mughal and Maratha military organisation from Bhimsen's scattered observations. Narnol, Bundelkhand, Khandesh and the Deccan were spoken of as centres of recruitment (p. 34). He refers to his own promotion in spite of an anti-Hindu practice in the army that "the names of the Hindus were never recommended" (p. 83). He also refers to animals like horses and their branding, elephants (pp. 138, 189, 196, 234), camels and oxen (pp. 70, 187), of noncombatants including courtesans and prostitutes (p. 84), of arms, weapons and armour of the Mughals (p. 248), and of the Deccanis (p. 240). He speaks of rewards (pp. 49, 244), military accounts (p. 72), Mughal military intelligence and dak chauki (pp. 69, 80, 185, 212) and the efficacy of Maratha espionage (p. 36), of diplomatic and strategic service of the Mughals like hajibs and vakils (pp. 73, 89, 114, 150, 159). We are also told of special arms like Mughal artillery as well as of Bijapur artillery and use of gunpowder (pp. 34, 35, 39, 156, 157) in capturing Maratha forts. Not only do we have a long list of names of forts but good description descriptions of many, e.g., Bidar and Parenda (pp. 13, 42), Malkol or Golkonda (p. 14), Ramgir (p. 15), Daulatabad (p. 15), Chakan (p. 30), Kondana (p. 30), Trimbak (pp. 11, 32), Elichpur or Berar (p. 33), Kondana (p. 39), Republic (pp. 11, 32), Elichpur or Berar (p. 33), Kondana (p. 39), Republic (pp. 11, 32), Elichpur or Berar (pp. 33), Kondana (pp. 39), Republic (p (p. 39), Mahuli (p. 54), Ahiwant (pp. 55, 80), Ankai-Tankai (p. 78),

Mulher & Sulher (p. 79), Kanchan Manchan (p. 80), Junnar and Snivner (p. 87), Antur (p. 93), Naldurg (p. 110), Guidarga (p. 113), Malkhed (p. 116), Bhupalgarh (p. 123), Ramsej (p. 137). Bijapur (pp. 156-8), Adoni (p. 166), Jinji (pp. 182, 206-10), Warangal (p. 197), Palamkota (p. 195), Wakinkhere (p. 249). We are also told of repairs of forts (p. 120), and of sieges of many hill forts. It is again significant that we are told of a large number of temple forts (p. 193).

Bhimsen discusses at length the problems of what constitutes logistics now a days, the problems of transporting accommodating and feeding the huge armies on the move (pp. 117, 127, 140, 142, 152, 156, 160, 244, 246, 253-254). Description of tents, karkhanas (p. 171), commissariat arrangements are given. Grain supply and scarcity thereof (pp. 116, 180, 187-190, 224, 241, 178, 239, 203) proved to be a very acute problem notwithstanding the itinerant banjaras or grain merchants. Again the threat or insecurity on the high ways was ever present. To cope with this arrangements were made for road guards (p. 175). Bodies of slain robbers were piled up to a small hillock (ct chor minars, p. 176). The use of drums (pp. 81, 130) and banners (p. 79) is also mentioned. Bhimbsen has not torgotten the role of the astrologer (p. 81) and the supernatural (p. 92) in the army.

Referring to strategy and tactics of the belligerents Bhimsen speaks of deception (diplomatic cunning, p. 172), surprise night attacks (pp. 30, 36, 80, 185), ambushes (p. 54), siege preparations (pp. 136, 237), mining (pp. 30, 222), scaling (pp. 120, 140-1, 208, raising mounds (p. 246), trenches (pp. 179, 183, 185, 241). We are told of Mughal battle order (p. 196). We learn that Mughal strategy under Aurangzeb was different from that under Akbar. "It was the strategy of Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim to charge the largest division of the enemy, Khan-i-Dauran's plan of war was first to drive the enemy's smaller divisions back upon their main force and then to fight vigorously." On the other hand "the armies of Hyderabad, as has been conventional with them, stormed from all the four directions."

Bhimsen has dilated on the guerilla activities of the Deccani soldiers (of Bijapur and Golkonda, p. 228). of the Marathas (pp. • 184, 229, 238, 251, 253, 255) and of the Berads (pp. 125, 198, 246, 247). We are told that Malik Ambar was "quite efficient in

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performing the system of separation" and "holding the field from al the four sides" commonly known as Bargi-giri in the terminology of the Daknam languages (pp. 9, 71). The dispersal methods of the Marathas (pp. 92-3), roving and predatory activities, (ghanimi) plunder of provisions by the Marathas are trequently referred to (pp. 107, 117, 120, 123, 130, 200, 216, 226, 244). The Berad guerrillas returned from the fight as quickly as the echo from the hill i.e., they were familiar with modern that and run' tactics (p. 246). Sometimes the Marathas and the Berads acted in concert (p. 256).

Bhimsen displays his critical powers in his analysis of the weaknesses of the Mughal army. He attributes Shivaji's success m spite of his numerical inferiority against the Mughals, to his military skill and accurate topographical information obtained through spies (p. 36). Speaking of the Mughals, he refers to large desertions of Bahelias (Mavles?) (pp. 173, 186). pimpoints the discomfiture of the Mughals to the system of recruitment by their generals: "The immature generals, out of greed of money and lack of spirit, did not engage men of family and high breed, the sons and grandsons of soldiers. Instead of such men, they mounted their slaves and brought them to the field, whose only work was to flee and turn back." (p. 247). He also accuses the Mughal generals of making wilful delay and protracting operations (pp. 207-8). He has drawn an interesting com-Parison in the sysetm of food supply between the times of Shahlahan and Aurangzeb. Formerly grain for two years' consumption was provided for the Qandahar campaign but now there was utter failure of supply of grain (p. 255). Thus Bhimsen supports Napoleon's dictum that an army moves on its stomach.

Besides references to political, administrative and military affairs, Bhimsen gives many interesting details regarding socio-economic life of the people, which are generally not referred to in contemporary chronicles. He thus introduced something new in the prevailing conception of history. He may justly be classed as a social historian of the times. A few examples are noted below. In his description of the places and sites visited by him, Thus we get names of numerous rural and urban centres, of holy and commercial centres, e.g., the city of Burhanpur

(pp. 5-7); history of the growth of the walled town of Aurangabad and description of the Deccan (pp. 7-10, 130-1), Ahmadnagar (pp. 75-6), holy places like Gulshanabad alias Nasik (pp. 32-34), Ellora (p. 33), Trimbak, Pravara Sangama (on the Godavari) (p. 242), Tuljapur, Jejuri, Tirupati (p. 200), Kanchi (p. 180), Ujjain, Hyderabad (151-2), Bijapur (p. 125),, Madras (p. 191), Phulcherry (Pondicherry, 194). Bhimsen does not forget to refer to the sweet grapes of Mulher and Nasik and delicious figs of Junnar, water melons and sweet melons of Bahadurgad. At the same time Bhimsen regretfully noticed the decline of several cities of the Deccan (p. 245).

Social customs have been faithfully recorded, e.g., birth ceremonies and illuminations (p. 39), marriage cereinomies (p. 31), teasts and parties (pp. 31, 60, 118). Bhimsen mentions the sau rite approvingly (pp. 00, 129). He records a curious case in which the wire of a living Kajput was burnt alive at the desire of the husband (p. 99). Bhimsen has also mentioned assemblies of religious saints and mystics and the distribution of food in the junetion known as bhandara (p. 32). Nor has he torgotten to mention about the mausoleum of the tamous Deccani saint Sayyid Gisu Daraj (p. 115). Holi festival was enjoyed by high Musim nobles and officers like Bahadur Khan (p. 95). A very interesting light is thrown on Hindu Muslim relations by Bhimsen's reference to the temple of Khande Rao (pp. 235-6). The habit of drinking was fairly widespread among officers, both Hindu and Moslem, and Bhimsen records the death of his young relations due to this (pp. 172, 205). Bhimsen writes in a spirit of deep depression that "rich men in our times do not consider the lot of the poor. sigh over their hoards .... Especially the high umaras and noblemen are in a wretched state, as they never think of the claims of the needy." (p. 242). This reference to class rift was made as Bhimsen thought rich man of his days had lost the earlier sense of generosity and charitable constructions of inns, wells, gardens

Bhimsen has left a graphic and forceful account of the sociological effects caused by prolonged warfare in the Deccan. He writes: "The general peace of the people was disturbed due to the presence of the soldiers at different points and places separately" (pp. 138, 150). How correct is this can easily be under-

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stood even in our days! He has especially referred to the growth of a new 'tent generation', as soldiers sick of long separation summoned their families to the camp. Their whole life from the eradle to the grave was spent in the camp. Never seeing the face of the house they realised that "in this world there is not better (other) shelter than a tent' (p. 233).

In the midst of this black cloud of widespread desolation we read of a silver lining viz., the rehabilitation of a 'totally ruined' village named Abula (in Nasik area) by an erstwhile Maratha robber, Raghav by name (1703-4), (p. 238).

We even get interesting anthropological details. We get a vivid description of the Ban-manush or wild savages on the way between Karnul and Nandiyal (p. 179); of the food habits and dress of the "naked inhabitants" of the Madras east coast (pp. 193-4); of the stri-raj (or women's rule) in Maliwar (Malabar) where 'every man has 10 or 11 wives and also every wife 10 or 11 husbands'; and of the Rajiwar or Rajputs settled in the Karnatak said to be the descendants of Rajah Jaichand of Kanauj (p. 197).

We get a glimpse of the economic life of the people of the Deccan. There are frequent references to prices of articles at different places at different times. Once during Shaista Khan's regime, we are told that grain was very cheap at Poona. Shahjahani maunds of wheat could be had at a rupee, while there Were special concessions for soldiers in Khandesh, Berar and Baglan and fodder did not cost more than 15 rupees (p. 31). Prices, of course, lose very high on account of campaigns and sieges, plunder, dacoily and insecurity. In war-devastated Telingana grain sold at only 12 seers a rupee as against two Shahjahani maunds before (p. 229). Prices rose very high in the imperial camp during the siege of Khelna (Vishalgad), (p. 233).

Among interesting economic products we read of paper or plank dress. In 1688-9 Shambhuji and his companions were made to wear takhta like offenders in Persia, (p. 169). Speaking of the famous carpet industry (qalin and shatranj) of Warrangal, Bhimsen speaks of the qalin as of the same quality as the qalin of Wilayat (i) The Paigh of Ceylon, Wilayat (i.e. Afghanistan and Iran) (p. 198). The Rajah of Ceylon, where electroders. The electroders. where elephants were found, did not molest the traders. The elephants of M. i. i. world (p. 196). phants of Malabar are said to be the best in the world (p. 196).

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The notes and references appended by the editor are generally informative and useful. Printing and get-up are good. The price has been kept very low to the great credit of the Maharashtra government. This is in striking conformity to the late Jadunath's own idea that in our country books have to be cheap.

A few remarks may now be made about the sources and the bibliography. The Bibliotheque Nationale copy of Bhimsen's ms referred to in the Introduction has not been utilised in the present work. It is not understood why Sir William Foster's book, English Factories in India, does not find a place in the bibliography, when that edited by Sir Charles Fawcett does. The metrical history Aurangnamah is not mentioned, though it throws much light on the War of Succession. All Persian sources used are in translation. Even no reference to Persian text is given except Wagiat-i-Alamgiri. The Haft Anjuman of Talevar Khan, munshi of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, has not been used. Even the reviewer's translation of its Benares ms. (The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General) published nearly three years before this present work and his article on Punishment and Pardon of Ram Singh (Journal of Indian History), Brij Kishore's Tara Bai and her Times and S. N. Sen's Shiva Chhatrapati have not been mentioned in the Bibliography.

The reader notices a marked difference in the style between the translations in the two parts. Inconsistencies or mistakes have crept in at places. It is stated in the Introduction (p. xii) that Bhimsen's account ends with the battle of Jajau (June 1707). But the book really ends (p. 257) with Aurangzeb's death (20 February, 1707), It is not clear what is meant by "armies and the peoples". Certain terms have been left unexplained e.g., Rasat Kabti (p. 176), Karbhari (p. 48).

Notwithstanding great care bestowed on the publication by the editor and his staff, the printers' devil has appeared. A few examples are noted below: Tuglak for Tughlaq (p. 41); Kalifa for Khalifa (p. 43); a bush for ambush (p. 54); 3 for 2 (p. 55n); mirza and Mir reconciled (?) (p. 64); got relieved his brother (p. 83); Sambat 1729 (1763-74) should be 1673-4 (p. 100); I and Sayyid Kabir (p. 128); shadow of Gods for God (p. 131), nagara for naqqara (p. 133); Prince for the Prince (p. 145); He (p. 146) is not clear as two persons are mentioned before (perhaps Khwaja

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0. 146) hwaja Shamsuddin); attacked upon for attacked (146); Khan-i-jahan for Jahan (173); Bakshi for Bakhshi (178), etc.

On the whole the work under review is a very valuable addition to the growing number of works on Medieval Indian History. Its chief merit lies in making this important source material of the seventeenth century available to scholars of this period in English.

J. N. SARKAR.

ŚRĪ VISNUSAHASRANĀMABHĀŞYA of Satyasandha Yatiraja, edited by K. C. Kalkoti, Published by Agasthiar Book Depot, Tiruchirapalli-2, 1972, pp. 120. Rs. 2/-.

Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra which forms part Anusasanikaparva of the Mahabharata consists of hundred holy names of Lord Visnu and is the most popular work recited by all devout Hindus. The meaning and significance of each one of these appellations, some of them apparently repetitions, are sought to be given by several Ācāryas, and the earliest available work in this field is the Bhāṣya attributed to Ādi Śaṅkara, which naturally has an Advaitic leaning. The present work by Sri Satyasandhayatiraja of Uttaradi Mutt is a more elaborate exposition with a slight leaning towards the Dvaita Vedānta of Śrī Madhvācārya.

The commentary is elaborate and gives the roots and suffixes of every name and cites authority, particularly the basic works in the Madhva system. Several alternative explanations are given for many words. For instance, the simple word paramātmā is given as many as seven meanings among which are 'the soul which destroys enemies' (paraḥ śatruḥ mīyate himsyate yena). 'Padmanābha' in addition to 'he who has the lotus in the navel' is given the rather strained meaning 'he who shines before his devotees,' the word being split up as padmanā and ābha, and the first word being taken as standing for devotees. Some alternative readings are also seen, as for instance viniyojayah for vinayo jayah.

The work is of great help in understanding what each appellation of Visnu in the Sahasranama stands for in the concept of God as the Supreme Being manifesting in the cosmic form.

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

ORISSA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, by Dr. K. M. Patra (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, pp. xix + 351, Rs. 42).

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The rule of the East India Company over Orissa lasted for nearly fifty-five years, from 1805 to 1858. True, in 1765 Sir Robert Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, but the Orissa of the Imperial grant was nothing more than the single district of Midnapore. It was only in 1803, in the course of the Second Anglo-Maratha war, that Lord Wellesley wrested the rest of the province from Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur.

Throughout the period of Company's rule and for many years thereafter, Orissa was included in the Bengal Presidency and it was from Calcutta that the administration of Orissa was superintended, directed and controlled. To this fact, the author, like most other Oriyas, would attribute many of the ills that beset the province until it realised its separate political identity in the present century.

Investigating, as it does, a period of transition from the Maratha to the British rule, a period during which the foundations of modern Orissan administration were laid, the work is of more than ordinary interest, especially as its fairly comprehensive documentation makes it an indispensable reference book for the study of a hitherto little-known aspect of Orissan history.

History to be meaningful has to be basically a study of change and of the reasons for it. It must be said to the credit of the author that he treats administrative history as the growth of the administrative system, and, since there is no growth without change, he brings out all the relevant administrative changes, indicating the arguments both for and against the existing administrative measures and practices and the proposed reforms, as revealed in the contemporary debate among the men who ruled Orissa.

The author's narrative unfolds a tale of progressive improvement in the various facets of administration that he has covered in this book. Therefore, the concluding words of his final summing up come as something of a shock, for they are largely out

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of harmony with the findings which he records in the various chapters. This is what he says on the last page: "The period of the East India Company, instead of indicating any change for progress in the material condition of Orissa, left for the future a legacy of stagnation and economic deterioration." How would the author reconcile this sweeping generalisation with, for instance, his remark at the end of his survey of the history of the much—maligned salt monopoly under Company's rule a monopoly which was abolished four years after that rule was terminated that "the abolition of the salt monopoly gave a death blow to the commercial activities of the people of Orissa"?

J. P. DE SOUZA

HISTORY OF TIPU SULTAN: (Second and enlarged edition), by Mohibul Hasan, (Published by The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta), 1972, pp. xvi + 442, Price Rs. 35/-.

The magnificent story of the meteoric rise and fall of a kingdom and the fidgets of its architects is skilfully narrated in this book by Mohibul Hasan. Giving in broad outline the impetuous and volcanic character of Haider Ali Khan, he closely analyses the high strung temper, rabid hate, wise policies and fanatical outbursts of his son in a vindicative vein. This account of Tipu Sultan, based on a variety of primary and secondary sources, can be considered as a study in motives and achievements of a highly complex personage. The author claims that he has made an attempt "to give an accurate picture of Tipu Sultan by disengaging his personality from masses of fictions and distortions which have gathered round him." (p. VIII). However it may be pointed out that the picture of Tipu thus salvaged appears to lack a burning personality. Political and religious expediency demanded of him certain absolute action which, from his own point of view, required no explanation or justification. In his attempt to do justice to Tipu, the author errs into justifying his misdeeds also. At that point his objectivity vanishes and he poses as an apologist of Tipu.

It is surprising and often sickening to see the author indulging in polemical exercises in the place where prudent analysis is expected, in a manner much like an impulsive vakil of Tipu Sultan,

producing witnesses who have perfected themselves in the art of perjury. An impartial observer of trends and events, ideas and movements of the period will find it difficult to accept many of the arguments presented here.

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Prof. Hasan, in his anxiety to vindicate Tipu, accuses Rama Varma, the ruler of Travancore for constructing the 'Travancore Lines' and purchasing "Ayicotta and Cranganur from the Dutch knowing fully well that Tipu was also anxious to buy them." (pp. 154–5). If Tipu had the right to extend his territories, Rama Varma had no less a right to do so. Prof. Hasan says that 'Tipu wanted access to Palghat "both from the east and the west to be carefully guarded and for this purpose he was desirous of possessing himself of Cranganur" (p. 157). Defence of Palghat from Cranganore is a wild plan which a strategist like 'Tipu would never have contemplated because it is far removed from the Cranganore base.

What Tipu was interested in was the conquest of Travancore, to wreak vengeance against the intransigent ruler who disregarded the authority of his father. The arguments forwarded by the author to prove the contrary are puerile. For instance he says that the invasion was "strategically unsound" because "to approach the lines (Travancore Lines) from Cranganur a river had to be crossed." The same river running on the eastern boundary of Cranganore had to be crossed by Tipu to reach Palghat which is about seventy miles from that base; the distance to the Travancore boundary being less than two miles. That invasion of Travancore was the sole object of Tipu is clear from his endeavours to get hold of Ayicotta and Cranganore forts through the agency of Holland, the Governor of Madras, from the Raja of Travancore, even after their sale to him by the Dutch. (p. 162).

Even a pro-Tipu student of history will find it hard to agree with many of the findings of the author. Prof. Hasan shows little of the spark of historical objectivity in his rank denunciation of Raja was not a vassal of Tipu, the unwarranted criticism could have been avoided.

Of all the chapters, the one with delicate sleight of hand is that dealing with state and religion. The author can feel com-

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placent that he has done justice to his hero, but not to the subject placent of the reader. By drawing on certain information and leaving others more important from the documents, he establishes the theory that Tipu was not a bigot but an enlightened ruler who raised Hindus to high positions in his Government, granted them complete freedom of worship, conferred grants on temples and Brahmins, gave money for the construction of images and on one occasion even ordered the building of a temple. "It is, therefore incredible" he says, "that a ruler who showed such tolerance and generosity who had such eclectic beliefs could ever have been guilty of religious persecutions of Hindus." (p. 364). The author is not mindful of the other positive evidences to prove the iconoclasm and bigotry of Tipu Sultan who established a reign of terror in Malabar. Through the length and breadth of littoral Malabar, hundreds of Hindu femples witnessed the defilement of their idols and demolition of their structures at the hands of Tipu and his soldiers. Their remains speak volumes on the intolerable acts of violence perpetrated by the invader. It is highly unethical on the part of a historian to ignore such living facts and pick up a few inconsequential pieces of evidences from unreliable quarters to establish the generosity and tolerance of Tipu. Harsh treatment of Hindus in Malabar is easily explained away by Prof. Hasan by saying that Tipu "did this not due to religious but to political motives. He regarded conversion as a form of punishment which he inflicted on such of his non-Muslim subjects as were guilty of (p. 362). Expansion of Islam was the real repeated rebellion." motive and the imputation of a political purpose is to hide it from unthinking readers.

That Tipu had strong aversion for non-Muslims was attested by the replacement of Hindu officials by Muslims in important situations under his dominion. This has been given as the main reason for the dimunition in the revenue collections under his reign because, as the Muslim historian Kirmani writes, the Muslim officials so appointed to posts requiring deep knowledge and great patience, could scarcely read and write. Tipu's contemporaries and his own eldest son testify to this misplaced love of the Sultan for Muslim officials. Still Prof. Hasan is eloquent on the favours Tipu bestowed on his Hindu subjects.

What we feel is that there were two contradictory traits in Tipu's character which made him a bigot and iconoclast as well as a tolerant benefactor at the same time or at different times. As periodic disorder and lucidity appear in lunacy, fits of fanatical outbursts might have alternated with moments of sober thinking and normal behaviour, in him. Hindus and their temples in Mysore fared better at Tipu's hands, when compared with their counterparts in Malabar. Similarly Muslims of Malabar enjoyed more benefits than those of Mysore. This dichotomy in the personality of Tipu calls for a detailed and close analysis.

On the whole, the book contains an appreciative but not reflective description of an attractive figure of modern Indian History. Very often it is distressing to see the bottom of objectivity giving way and impulsive assessments falling to ground. This produces oddly artificial results, making one feel that it is an uneven book with too much of hagiography about it. Lack of poise is evident in the distribution of topics. Of the 400 pages of the text, 329 are devoted to wars and conquests and the rest for the more important aspects of the rule like Administration and Economy, State and Religion and review and conclusions. The book suffers badly from the overburdening of details on military activities. Certain minor mistakes also can be detected in the body of the book. In the map to face page 194 Tellicherry is shown far to the north of Mangalore.

It would, however, be unfair to dismiss this book as not substantial or solid. All will agree that this absorbing biography of Tipu has no rival of proven merit in the field.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

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INDIA'S SEARCH FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY, by Ainslie T. Embree (pp. xiv + 138 + v), published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1st edition, 1972.

Indian patriots borrowed the concept of nationalism from the European countries in the nineteerth century and tried to foster a sense of unity and identity amongst Indians. The history of that search for national ideology has been admirably reviewed by

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the ster that by prof. A. T. Embree in a slender volume. Details of events and citations from the leaders and historians have been avoided to a very large extent. More emphasis has been given to motivations and this factor accounts for a sustained interest in the book.

In the first two chapters it has been shown that during the period between 1880 and 1898 while the British rulers had centralized political power and introduced a single judicial system, there were many such factors which testify to a large extent the veracity of the opinion of Sir John Strachey about India in 1880. He wrote: "men of the Punjab, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and Madras, should ever feel they belonged to one great nation, is impossible." There were multiple vernacular newspapers and nationalist organisations. There could be little national identity when Hindus and Muslims differed not only in religion but also in response to Western education. The Indian National Congress, confined to the educated classes, and indifferent to urban people, was divided into two camps. Reconciliation between constitutionalism of the Liberals and resurgent Hindu nationalism of the Extremists could not take place till 1916. Similarly, the Muslims were divided into the Aligarh and Deoband schools on the propriety of approach to modernity. The third chapter deals with the period 1898-1917. The fourth is devoted to the emergence of Gandhi as the national leader (1918-1924). Though "not the father of the Indian nation" (p. 63), he harnessed the masses "for the first time to the aims of a nationalist organisation" (p. 76) at the time of the Non-Cooperation movement in 1921. But the search for national identity was not over even during the next twenty years because there were tensions between two interpretations—"the Gandhian insistence on social salvation through personal commitment as opposed to the policies of institutional participation" (p. 83). By 1940 it became clear that national could come only with the attainment of Indian independence. Throughout the book the conflict between secular nationalism and religious nationalism has been illustrated. It ends in 1947 when not one but two nations emerged. How pithy is Prof. Embree's last sentence of the last chapter, when he observes that "11 that "the final test of nationhood: the capacity to survive."

Few admirers of Gandhi have been able to justify his mistakes has been done by the author in the fifth chapter of this book.

Gandhi abandoned the Civil Disobedience movement, launched by himself both in 1922 and 1934. He along with Nehru caused the failure of negotiations with the Muslim League. These were mistakes but they were right. Neither the Charkha nor the violation of the Salt laws was the correct medium for creation of a nationalist ideology and national policy. Yet it was necessary for Indian masses to have "some symbol that touched their daily lives." If the arguments of Jinnah and Iqbal in 1930 were not taken seriously or proposals for Congress-League Coalition ministries in provinces were rejected in 1937, Gandhi cannot be said to have blundered. How could unity come when Jinnah asserted that Hinduism and Islam were two distinct "social orders" (p. 102)?

The author has on many occasions charged a section of the British ruling class with obstruction of national identity. He accuses Churchill of concentrating on the Muslims which made genuine negotiations impossible at the time of Cripps' mission. But he has preferred to remain silent on the statements and policies of British rulers on certain other occasions. Nowhere has it been stated that the virus of communalism was injected by them. As early as April 14,1887, (Lord) Cross wrote to (Lord) Dufferin that "the interests of the Manonmedans must be considered." To whatever extent Prof. Embree's appreciation of Curzon be correct, it cannot be denied that the first partition of Bengal in 1905 was motivated less by administrative considerations than by the desire of weakening national identity, which was cherished by the Congress. Curzon wrote to Hamilton on November 18, 1900 that "one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it (the Congress) to a peaceful demise." Further, it must be remembered that Muslims of Bengal did not make a proposal for that partition. Again, it is not enough to say that the Simon Commission brought new life to the nationalist movement (p. 96). In a book, the aim of which is quest of national identity, one would expect the incorporation of the following directive of Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, to Irwin, the Viceroy of India: "We have always relied on the non-boycotting Muslims, on the depressed community, on the business interests and to many others, to break, down the attitude of boycott." . .

Another significant omission in this work is the farsighted suggestion of vivisection of India by a few Hindu leaders long

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before the demands made by Iqbal in 1930. Though Lajpat Rai before the demands made linding in 1924 he suggested the partiwished to see an undivided India, in 1924 he suggested the partiwished to see an undivided India, in 1924 he suggested the partimination of the Punjab and formation of four Muslim States comprising the North-West Province, Western Punjab, Sindh and Eastern Bengal. He observed "if there are compact Muslim communities in any other part of India sufficiently large to form a province, they should be similarly constituted. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not a United India. It means a clear partition of India into Muslim-India and a non-Muslim India" (Tribune, December 14, 1924). In 1928 at the All-Parties Conference Tej Bahadur Sapru pleaded for acceptance of Jinnah's demands that the Punjab and Bengal legislatures should have Muslims representation on the population basis for ten years and residuary powers vested in the provinces.

This reviewer is not certain if Prof. Embree thinks of Gandhi taking up the cause of Champaran peasants as an emissary of the Indian National Congress. If it is so, he is wrong. It is well known that though the Lucknow Congress of 1916 approved Resolution XI unanimously for appointment of a committee to enquire into the grievances of those peasants, no positive step was taken. It was due to the persuasion of Raj Kumar Shukla and Brajeshwar Prasad that Gandhi visited Champaran and he did it in a private capacity.

Possibly impelled by the necessity to be brief, the author has made a few sweeping observations. An example of such a tendency occurs in the following sentence: "The swadeshi movement and the boycott were concrete manifestations of an economic inter-Pretation of modern Indian history that by this time was widely accepted by the nationalists" (p. 48). This is true from the Bengal school and some other Extremists. On the other hand some Moderate leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta and G. K. Gokhale lavoured Swadeshism and remained hostile to boycott. Very few of the IV. A. Wadia supported boycott. The general tone of the Western Indian Moderates and millowners can be discerned in the Country for Morariee in the speech of D. E. Wacha, also Managing Agent for Morarjee Goculdas Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., at Bombay in 1908 about boycott as "the militant cant and mischievous shibboleths now in writings of Some utterly misguided quarters" (Speeches and Writings of D. E. Wacha, Madras, 1918, p. 145).

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Not only in choosing the theme but also in narrating it critically in so few words, Prof. Enbree sets the much desired high standard of modern Indian historical writings. One gets a clear perception of hindrances to and success in formation of nationalis ideology. One cannot but praise the sagacity of Prof. Eugene Rice, Consulting Editor, and Messers Alfred A. Knopf, publisher, for incorporating such a brilliant and intensely absorbing work in a cheap paper-back edition.

B. P. MAZUMDAR

IMPERIAL SUNSET, Volume I, Britain's Liberal Empire, 1897-1921, by Max Beloff, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London' 1989, pp. xi + 387.

As the title indicates, the author proposes to deal in detail in several volumes the decline and fall of the British empire, the beginnings of which may undoubtedly be traced back to the period immediately following the Second World War. There was a time when the Englishmen were proud to think of their empire on which the sun never sets and of their navy which rules the waves. Both these claims were things of the past about the middle of this century. As a sign of this we find a class of English statesmen definitely thinking of a 'retreat from the empire' in order to form a group with the other nations of Europe, even at the sacrifice of the Commonwealth. Further, a class of English statesmen now realised that the loss of their empire was quite a natural event as the following statement of the author shows; "It would need a profound belief in Providence to make one refrain from wonder ing why a group of foggy islands off Europe's north-western shores. populated beyond the means of subsistence that the islands could provide, endowed with no great natural assets outside the coalfields, should have become both the centre of a world empire and a possible arbiter of European rivalries. It might seem that 50 artificial a superiority was certain to prove as transient as the hegemonies that it had replaced." Though this pessimistic view was challenged by many, the impending collapse of the empire was in a way admitted even by the Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, who, in support of his proposal to apply for

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the membership of the European Economic Community (Common Market), told the House of Commons on 31 July, 1961, that "the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe had been repeated all over the world. Fifteen years ago the movement spread through Asia .... Today the same thing is happening in Africa .... The wind of change is blowing through this continent and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact." For a time Macmillan and the British Government sought to stem the tide by reorganisng the Commonwealth, but a section of British statesmen openly declared that it would be wiser to join the European Common Market even at the sacrifice of the empire, if necessary.

The volume under review presents before us, by way of a proper back-ground, the last glow of the British empire during the period 1897 to 1921, when it seemed to be at the height of its glory. He has described in great detail how the British empire passed through many crises, one after another, but always emerged triumphant. The initial discomfiture during the Boer War was effaced by the loyal support of the leaders of that country during the First World War. Similarly, inspite of discontent and political violence India gave her full support to the British during that war. But the author has referred to many facts to prove that "the position of Britain in 1921 was quite different in fact from what it appeared to be outwardly.... The British position in the Victorian high noon had rested upon a combination of circumstances now last disappearing .... It might seem that in 1921 the British role the world had been triumphantly reasserted. But despite the lusion conveyed by the maps and tables the meridian had been Passed, the final liquidation of Britain's world power — the Im-Perial Sunset — lay only fifty years ahead (p. 361).

Hitherto the British history has been written as a record of glory and triumph. The author has broken a new ground and an altogether an insight into the modern history of Britain from the literature on English history. The author writes in a lucid syle, gives evidence of wide reading and adds full reference to the sources. The printing and get-up are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

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HISTORY OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT by Manmathnath Gupta, Semaiya Publications, Bombay.

Unlike many other aspects of the modern Indian History the activities of Indian revolutionaries, both in India and abroad, have been covered exhaustively by the Indian scholars of modern Indian History — particularly during the last fifteen years or so. Mr. Manmathnath Gupta's contribution is quite different from the rest of the books on the subject in the sense that he was a participant, in different ways and at different times, in India's struggle for independence.

The book, History of the Indian Revolutionary Movement, as the author points out in introduction is a revised, uptodated edition of his earlier work in Hindi, Bhartiya Krantikari Andolan Ka Itihas, first published in 1939. Apart from using some German Foreign Office records, available in the National Archives of India, in its microfilm collection, not much evidence is there in the book of new and unexplored documents having been made use of besides the German Foreign Office records have been made good use of by Dr. A. C. Bose in his book Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, published only last year. Mr. Gupta not being a professional historian, has kept documentary evidence in the book to the minimum.

Mr. Gupta has attempted to prove in this book that the nonviolent movement under the Congress had exhausted itself by 1944, and it was the I.N.A. which delivered the coup de grace and compelled the British to quit India, as the British could no longer rely on the Indian army. He has also essayed to bring into focus the violent aspects of the 1942 movements, when attempts were made by the Indian revolutionaries to disrupt administration and assassinate Europeans connected with the oppressive administrative set-up of the British. Basing his argument on this analysis as also because of whole-sale arrests of the top Congress men in all parts of Northern India, he makes it amply and abundantly clear that, devoid of its top leadership, the Congress at the lower rung did not hesitate to indulge in acts of violence, letting loose the natural instinct of revenge against the tyranny of the British administration. In fact highlighting these facts considerably raises the stature of the top Congress men, who had kept the national movement non-violent, by and large, till then. One

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wonders if these Congress leaders could succeed in keeping the

There have been written many detailed and specialised books on different aspects of the Indian revolutionary movement but Mr. Gupta's book is very welcome, as it covers a period of about a hundred years in just two hundred and fifty pages. Rather the period 1907–1947 forms the subject matter of the book. Description of the part played by the people in South India is restricted to just three pages.

Apart from the mistakes in printing, and loose expression at places, the index is very incomplete. This is more obvious, as the book does not contain any biographical notes, neither at the end of the book nor in the foot-notes. One hopes that these short-comings would be taken care of in the next edition of the book.

R. I. MALHOTRA

'INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD,' 1905-1922: In the Background of International Developments, by Arun Coomer Bose, Bharati Bhavan, Patna, 1971, Price Rs. 30, Pp. xv + 268.

Unlike many other aspects of modern Indian history, the activities of Indian revolutionaries abroad have been little covered by British or Western scholars of Modern Indian History. Dr. Bose has made an authentic, copiously documented, study of the activities of Indian revolutionaries in all parts of the world, for apart from tapping original source material here and abroad he took a lot of pain to interview some of the surviving old revolutionaries.

The book analyses, at the outset, the causes of discontent in India, and makes a through assessment of the reaction of educated Indians coming from middle class families, to the injustices of the British rule in India. The opportunities which the educated Indians got to travel abroad convinced them, as the author rightly points out, that 'Outside India, even in Britain, Indian revolutionaries could live and work with greater liberty, and many of them went abroad in search of greater safety and better opportunities'. These revolutionaries no doubt did get better opportunities to work, but their search for greater safety cut them off their roots in India, where their counterparts enjoyed neither

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liberty nor safety, and the repressive measures of the British in India made it difficult for them to have any fruitful contact with Indian revolutionaries abroad.

It may be difficult to uphold the contention of Dr. Bose that the revolutionary activities of the Indians abroad gave them a distinct character of their own, distinct from that of their counterparts in India: for both at home and abroad the revolutionaries stood committed to propagate agitation against foreign rule to subvert the British Administration in India, to militate against the British persecution of Indians, and to create public opinion in favour of Indian independence. In fact, this is clearly borne out by the graphic account (Dr. Bose has given) of the revolutionary activities of the Indians all over the world, be it in Germany, Turkey, England, U.S.A., Japan, or South East Asian countries.

It has been brought out very convincingly in the various chapters of the book that lack of co-ordination among the revolutionaries in different parts of the world, and, the lack of complete and solid support from any first rate power of consequence could not but frustrate the Indian revolutionaries abroad, But what is really significant, the author points out, is that despite this serious lack and repeated failures, the revolutionaries abroad kept the struggle going for more than two decades.

Dr. Bose has not cared to reason out why the activities of the Indian revolutionaries abroad more or less languished after the twenties of the present century. May be the involvement of the masses in the national struggle under Gandhiji's stewardship gave an entirely new political direction to the activities of Indian revolutionaries both in India and abroad. But then to have kept the flame of Independence struggle burning in foreign lands was enough proof of the resolute spirit and courage of the Indian revolutionaries abroad.

The presentation, could have been more effective had the author cared to avoid repetition of factual details. For example, the activities of Indian revolutionaries in U.S.A. listed and discussed in chapters II and IV, are more or less gone over again in chapter X. One hopes that mistakes in printing and loose expression, at places, would be taken care of in the next edition,

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Drawing largely on primary sources available in India and Britain, this interesting book offers a great deal of welcome information about the activities of Indian revolutionaries abroad.

R. I. MALHOTRA

THE IDOLS OF KHAJURAHO, by Dr. Ramasray Avasti, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow — Published by Oriental Publishing House, Gayakunj, Agra 2, 1967. Pp. 22 + 285 + 72 consist of 103 plates. Price: Rs. 70.

This is the revised text of a doctoral dissertation in Hindi accepted by the University of Lucknow in 1966. As some of the finest creations of man, several writers especially the lovers of art and architecture have been charmed by the sculptures which adorn the inner and outer walls of the temples of Khajuraho. Percy Brown, Stella Kramrisch, Krishnadeva, Sivarama Murthi and S. K. Saraswati in recent times and Cunnigham, Coomaraswamy and Ferguson much earlier, have bestowed paeans of praise on the admirable proportions of the various architectural numbers of Khajuraho temples.

Dr. Avasti in his present work has strictly confined his attention to the study of the idols of Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Sun, Navagrahās (Nine planets) and Eight Dikpālas found in Khajuraho temples including the archaeological museum there. A previous work on "Khajuraho sculptures and their significance" by Dr. (Smt.) Urmila Agarval, Ph.D. thesis, Agra University had included several Vaisnva, Saiva and Sākta idols of Khajuraho. Dr. Avasti has mainly concentrated on the iconographic details of the deities cited above. By way of an introduction to each item, he has traced the origin of the particular deity as reflected in Indian scriptures and litera-The characteristics of the icons of these deities as sanctioned in the texts of ancient iconography like Brihatsamhita, have also been pointed out by the writer. For example the different forms of Ganapati like Ganēswara, Gajānana, Lambodara, Sūrpakarņa, and Ekadanta have been properly distinguished. Detailed information relation relationships and other tion relating to the location and context of Ganapati and other idols in Khajuraho is also given in appendices.

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ose on, The author suggests that the Khajuraho sculptors have shown originality by deviating much from the injunctions of the old iconographic texts. Novelties like sixty-four-handed Visque and the tour-legged and seven-headed Siva are not prescribed in any of the old iconographic texts. He rightly points out that the artistic freedom shown by these sculptors had influenced later texts like Aparajita Pricha, Rupamandan and Devata Murti prakaran.

After the pioneer works of Gopinatha Rao, Krishna Sastr, and Prof. J. N. Banerjea, the need for detailed iconographic study of different centres in India has been felt by serious students of Indian sculpture. The present book is a laudable attempt in this direction. The book is also written in a pleasing style although there is preference for 'Sudh Hindi'.

This publication has all the attributes of research work including select bibliography, detailed index, appendices and representative plates. Patient scholarship and good craftsmanship have combined to produce a useful introduction to Khajuraho, the "illustrated dictionary of Indian iconography".

K. K. N. KURUP

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GLORIOUS SAHIBS, by Michael Edwardes. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1968, Pp. 248.

This book deals with the final phase of the growth of the British empire during the period between 1799 and 1819, but is written on a somewhat novel plan. The author describes the well-known events but lays special emphasis upon some distinguished personalities who made the greatest contribution to the building up of the British empire in India; namely, David Ochterlony, Charles Metcalfe, John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. The main object of the author is to show the difference between these servants of the East India Company and the later administrators of the Victorian Era, both in the spirit in which they worked and their outlook upon men and things in India. After describing the special work of each of these four in his own sphere in great details, he sums up the difference between them, who built the empire, and their successors on whom devolved the task of

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preserving it. The former held that the British empire would be short-lived and Metcalfe wrote: "Empires grow old, decay and perish. Ours in India appears to have passed the brilliancy and vigour of youth and has reached a premature old age." They did not worry about abstract theories and their criterion was the test of reality. They knew they were superior to the Indians but they were neither arrogant nor smug. Material welfare of the peasants and their protection from such dangerous sophistications as English law were all that was needed—so thought these elder statesmen, unlike their successors who came out to India with a determination to raise her out of the misery which they believed was due to the heathen religion of the people. These, according to the author, were "Christian heroes of the Victorians" who wanted sweeping reforms in order to turn India into a sort of "brown Britain" while their predecessors sought to preserve as many old institutions as possible and to use them slowly to introduce reforms. The author concludes with the following observations: "They and the Victorian heroes shared a dislike for the debased Hinduism they saw around them, but unlike the latter, men like Malcolm and Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Ochterlony did not transmute their dislike into that hatred and contempt for everything Indian which was to poison relations between British and Indians until the end of the empire. The memory of it has not wholly disappeared today." The author regrets that while the Imperialists of the later age are remembered and their words are quoted "to condemn the living, it is perhaps worth remembering that there was once a conquest without real bitterness, that there were men who looked upon India with neither arrogance nor contempt, who were imperfect and frequently made mistakes, but who believed that even foreign dominion should be administered on a principle of humanity, not pride." Whether the author's clear-cut distinction between the old and the new may be accepted as a historical truth, at least without some qualification, may be of Deliver but there is no doubt that he has presented the evolution of British rule in India in a fresh light which will be read with interest and perhaps provoke some rethinking on the part of the historians of British India.

The printing and get-up of the book are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMBAR

MINTS AND MINTING IN INDIA, by Upendra Thakur, published by Chowkhamba Publication, Varanasi, 1972; pages 192 (including Bibliography, pp. 164-74, and Index, pp. 175-92) with 6 Plates; Price Rs. 20.

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The volume under review is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics. It deals with some interesting aspects of early Indian currency and contains five chapters bearing the following titles - I. The Age of Barter and Exchange (pp.3-20), II. The First Coins (pp. 21-48), III. The State and the Coinage (pp. 49-96), IV. Symbols Vs. Mint-towns (pp. 97-145), and V. Economic Data from the Coins (pp. 146-63). Of these, Chapter I on 'The Age of Barter and Exchange' does not appear to have much to do directly with 'Mints and Minting'. At the top of odd-number pages between pp. 113 and 127, 'The State and the Coinage' is a misprint for 'Symbols Vs. Mint-Towns'. The article entitled 'The First Coins' (Chapter II) was contributed to a Seminar on Early Indian Indigenous Coins held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, in 1970, under the title 'The First Coins: a Study in Growth and Evolution', and was incorporated in its proceedings edited with a few notes by the writer of the following lines and published by the University of Calcutta (cf. op. cit., pp. 21-47). It seems, however, that the article was printed off for the present volume before the proceedings of the Seminar reached Prof. Thakur. Thus, for e.g., we find that the ascription of Varttikakāra Kātyāyana to the improbably early date of 600 B.C., to which we drew attention, is still there (p. 32).

We are grateful to Prof. Thakur for bringing together in the present volume the views of different scholars on particular topics and also for offering his own views in a number of cases. There are, however, cases in which the learned author appears to have depended on unsound and carelessly propounded views while there are others which require support or clarification. Prof. Thakur's attention may be drawn to a few such cases so that he may consider them while revising them for the second edition.

The author says, "The Greeks had issued silver coins as heavier as 263.5 grains in weight whereas the weight of their copper

coins goes upto 261 grains suggesting that the value of silver during this period was probably not much more than copper" (p. 158). We are sorry that the argument is not intelligible to us. If the Mughul emperors issued coins of the same weight in both gold and silver, how does the fact throw any light on the relative value of the two metals?

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Again Prof. Thakur accepts the view that coins in general became rarer from the time of Harsavardhana (606-47 A.D.) onwards, which points to the decline of trade and disappearance of urban life (pp. 161, 62). This is utterly opposed to all avaibble evidence since there are not only numerous references to various types of coins in the epigraphic records of the period in question but, besides innumerable unattributable coins, many issues can be definitely assigned to rulers reigning in the period in question. In this connection, one should not forget the facts (some of them also reiterated by Prof. Thakur) that coins once entering the Indian market remained in circulation for many centuries and that it was the traders and moneyers (and not the Government) that often determined whether fresh coins should be issued. Moreover cowrieshells and dummy pieces of metal were available for use if there was any shortage of real coins. We have the silver coins of Harsavardhana Sīlāditya himself, and his Bengal contemporary Sasanka issued gold coins, imitations of which were produced in East Bengal even about the eighth century A.D. Among the coins mentioned in inscriptions of the period concerned under identifiable names, we may refer to the Anjaneri (Nasik District, Maharashtra) plates of the eighth century A.D. speaking of the prevalence of silver coins of king Kṛṣṇa who belonged to the Early Kalacuri dynasty and flourished in the sixth century A.D. Such coins have been discovered in several sites of Western India. Then again, the Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U.P.) inscriptions speak of the dramma issued by Adivaraha and Vigrahatunga or Vigrahapāla. are the silver coins of the Pratīhāra king Bhoja I (c. 836-\$5 A.D.) surnamed Ādivarāha, and we have actually silver coins bearing the name Adivarāha in the legend. Likewise we have silver coins bearing the name of Vigraha who must have flourished in the eighth or ninth century A.D. In many cases, we are told about the issue of a particular coin by a king, but have

failed to discover such issues. Thus Haribhadra's Nemināhacaria (1159 A.D.) speaks of the issue of coins bearing the figure of Lakṣmī from the ṭankaśālā or mint of Caulukya Mūlarāja I (961-96 A.D.); but no such coins are known to have been identified. Likewise, there is mention of coin-names which cannot be identified; thus a silver coin called Pañciyaka-dramma is mentioned in the Siyadoni inscriptions; but we have not been able to detect such coins among the old Indian issues of the medieval period. As regards foreign trade we may refer, among other facts, to Itsing's travels in merchants' vessels in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. as well as to the testimony of Ibn Khurdabeh (844-48 A.D.), Sulayman (851 A.D.) and many other Arabs.

It is not correct to speak of 'the sudden disappearance of silver money .... in Kuṣāṇa times' (pp. 157-58), when the Śaka Satraps of Western India had an extensive silver currency during the same age. Likewise, reference may be made to the highly improbable theory explaining the unpopularity of copper coins with the Guptas (pp. 160-61) by suggesting 'the growth of self-sufficient economic units which precluded the rise of coins by the rural peasantry rendering the use of money less important'. Unfortunately this theory was propounded without taking into consideration the extensive issue of copper coins imitated from Kuṣāṇa money and discovered in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and U.P. mostly in Gupta times.

We have noticed a few cases of what looks like contradiction in Prof. Thakur's treatment of the various topics. Thus in respect of the Sātavāhanas, he says (p. 159), "despite their extensive kingdom, they were not economically well off" and again, "This indicates the flourishing trade of India by sea-route in Sātavāhana period." Indeed, it is well known that the great opulence of the Sātavāhana kings is abundantly proved by the Nānāghāṭ inscription recording the celebration of sacrifices and gifts made in that connection by the queen of Sātakarni I. Even the readable portions of the fragmentary record mention the gifts of more than of paddy, clothes, horses, elepharts, chariots, silver objects, etc. These Kārṣāpanas were silver punch-marked coins prevalent in the Sātavāhana kingdom.

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We have drawn attention to a few cases from the last chapter of the book. There are not too many serious misprints; some of the hook by us include 'Land-grants' for 'Land System' in the penultimate line of p. 171. We recommend the book to the students of Indian Numismatics.

D. C. SIRCAR.

MIHIRA, by Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Motilal Banarsidass (1969), Pp. xxiv + 556 with twenty-one plates, Price Rs. 50/-

This book, a dissertation for the Ph.D. Degree, is a very painstaking collection of data furnished by Varahamihira. As this great astronomer lived in the 5th-6th century A.D., these data throw very interesting light on a very obscure period of ancient Indian history. After an elaborate discussion of the date of Varahamihira the author accepts the current view that Panchasiddhantika, one of the major works of Varahamihira was probably composed in 505 A.D. He has also discussed the life and the chronological order of the major works of Varahamihira. After this introduction the author discusses in different chapters the information supplied by Varahamihira on sundry topics arranged according to subject-matter, the major heads under which the data are arranged are Geography, Religion, Social Life, Food and Drink, Economic Life, Arts, Trade and Industry, etc. Particular interest attaches to the last two chapters dealing with "the method of ascertaining future prospects of rainfall and crops" and "the art of exploring underground water-springs." Here the author, after referring to various texts on the subject of prediction of rainfall, observes: "they bear testimony to the great success achieved by our ancestors in this field of study (Meteorology)." He does not stop to examine the practical, not to speak of the scientific, value of the theories or recipes contained in these texts which would be looked upon by any educated man today as worthless, and almost of critical. This is an illustration, out of many, indicating a lack of critical sense on the part of the author, such as one would not expect in a thesis approved for the Ph.D. Degree. The real value

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of the book is the laborious collection of materials scattered in Brhatsamhita and their presentation in a classified order. Although much of the information supplied by Varahamihira is known from other sources, the value of the data supplied by him is of great importance because of the fact that we know that they were true of a definite period of time, which cannot be said of data gathered from most other literary sources as their dates are unknown. Thus we are in a position to say that the valuable data, particularly in respect of social practices, religious ideas, art, industry, etc. mentioned by Varahamihira, existed as early as the 5th century A.D. or continued till that date. Thus the data collected by Dr. Mitra and arranged according to topics are bound to be of great value to the students of Indian history and Culture; for this reason we welcome this book as a valuable addition to the source materials of ancient Indian history.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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Printed by S. Ramaswami, at G. S. Press, 1/13, Edward Elliots Road, Madras-4 and published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

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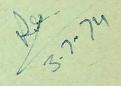
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Reviews: (1) The Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanasūri, edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye and published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay: (2) Jungle Alliance: Japan and	Commence of the last of the la

the Indian National Army by Joyce C. Lebra, published by Donald More, Asia Pacific Press, Singapore; (3) Sri Aurobindo-An Interpretation, edited by V. C. Joshi. published by Vikas Publishing House, Delhi; (4) The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala, Compiled by the Regional Records Survey Committee, edited by Prof. P. K. K. Menon, Kerala; (5) The Reign of Al-Mutawakkil by Shamsudin Miah, published by Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca; (6) Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, by Sarojini Regani Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad; (7) Twilight or Dawn, The Political Change in India, by Igbal Narain. Shivalal Agarwala & Company, Agra, (8) Carracks Caravans and Companies, by Niels Steensgaard; (9) The Collapse of British Power by Correlli Barnett, published by Eyre Methuen, London; (10) The Roots of Ancient India, by Walter A Fairservis, Jr., Allen and Unwin; (11) Socialism in India, edited by B. R. Nanda, Vikas Publications, Delhi; (12) Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations, edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri, published by Nagpur University; (13) Lakshminath Bezbaroa: The Sahityarathi of Assam, by Maheshwar Neog, Gauhati University; (14) From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikh History, by J. S. Grewal, Guru Nanak University; (15) Indian Civilization: The First Phase, Problems of a Source-Book, edited by S. C. Malik Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; (16) Katherine Mayo and India, by Manoranjan Jha; (17) A History of South Kanara, by K. V. Ramesh and published by Karnatak University, Dharwar; (18) The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India, edited by George Menachery

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# Life Depicted in Ancient Indian Ivory Carvings

BY

#### VINOD P. DWIVEDI

From the dawn of history ivory has always had a special fascination for the artists and craftsmen. Most of the great cultures of the world have known and practised the art of ivory carving. Antiquity of Indian ivory carving (including bone carvings) goes back to Harappan<sup>1</sup> and Neolithic<sup>2</sup> periods. Excavations at Moheniodaro, Harappa, Lothal as well as the Neolithic sites of Burzhom. Chirand etc. have yielded many bone and ivory items. But not much attention has been paid to these articles because of their small size and easy perishability. Even when mentioned in the excavation reports they are often found without details and illustrations. These factors make their thorough study very difficult. However, we will try to put together whatever little evidence can be gathered from these reports and will try to examine as to how ivory and bone carvings can help us in constructing the history of our material calture.

It is surprising to note that whereas the Harappan remains have yielded a number of ivory items, the neolithic excavations at Burzhom, Chirand and other places have mostly brought forth bone carvings. Hardly any ivory item of significance has been discovered from these sites. This fact not only attests to the urbanity of the Harappan remains, but also points to the limited knowledge and resources of the neolithic residents of these sites. The neolithic people were contented, it seems, to use the bones of animals they were killing for their food, for carvings in their leisure

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<sup>1. (</sup>i) Marshall, J. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, London, 1931.

<sup>(</sup>ii) Mackay, E. J. H., Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Delhi, 1938.

<sup>(</sup>iii) Vats, M. S., Excavation at Harappa, Delhi, 1941.

<sup>2. (</sup>i) I. A. R. 1960-61; 1961-62; 1962-63. (ii) Narain, Lala Aditya, 'The Neolithic settlement at Chirand', The Narain, Lala Aditya, 'The Neolithic Section of Bihar Research Society, Vol. LVI, pt. I, IV, p. 34.

time as these were readily available. In certain cases antler was also used for such carvings, specially for weapons and tools.3 On the other hand the Harappans, living in Mohenjodaro, Harappa Lothal and other cities, were extensively using ivory for carving utilitarian items. The affluence and surplus food-grains of these Harappan cities could afford to maintain ivory carvers among themselves, as attested by the find of two tusks at Mohenjodaro amidst nine human skeletons.4 The fact that arm bones of burial seven were almost touching one of these tusks make it even more convincing. The way the bodies were heaped shows that they were clinging to their ivory tusks even in the face of catastrophe. This also shows that ivory was a valuable item for the Harappans and that the invaders, whosoever they may have been, had no use for these tusks and that is why they were left behind with the deads.

The ivories also help us in establishing that elephant must have been a domesticated animal in those days5 and that ivory was available locally.6 Besides numerous finds of ivory at Harappa and two elephant tusks at Mohenjodaro, Lothal has also yielded an elephant's tusk and a piece of ivory sawn from it.7 'The evidence shows that the use of ivory was quite extensive in the Harappan times.

The discovery of an ivory comb near the skull of a woman at Mohenjodaro<sup>8</sup> points to the possibility of its being actually worm in the hair. Fragments of comb usually show deeply incised circles as decorations (fig. 1). To add to their beauty these circles were filled with black or vermillion pigments. That the people of Mohenjodaro believed in elaborate coiffure is attested by the bronze dancing girl's hair-do.9 A good number of hair pins found in the excavations further lend weight to this conclusion. Some of

3. Ibid.

4. Mackay, E., op. cit., vol. I, p. 117.

5. Zeuner, F. E., A History of Domesticated Animals, London, 1963, F. 286. 6. Finds of two tusks at Mohenjodaro and another at Lothal, besides numerous items of ivory yielded by Harappan sites make it evident that ivory was readily available locally.

7. Rao, S. R., 'Further excavation at Lothal,' Lalit Kala, No. 11, p. 23.

8. Mackay, E. op. cit., p. 116.

9. Marshall, John, op. cit., 1931, vol. II, pl. XCIV, Nos. 6, 7 and 8.

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these pins are surmounted by birds10 or animals11 and have grooves round the top to ensure that pins do not slip away from the hair. This shows the height achieved by the Harappan ivory carvers in their art.

The long gap between the end of Harappan culture (c. 1750 BC) and early historical period (c. 5th cent. B.C.) is reflected in yory finds also. Ivory articles which could be assigned to this period, are almost negligible. However, finds of small ivory neurines excavated from Taxila,12 Rupar,13 Nagda,14 Ujjain,15 Prabhas Patan<sup>16</sup> and Avra, 17 datable to circa 6th-4th cent. B.C., are meresting. Highly conventionalised, these figures show simple incised strokes regularly marked in a horizontal and oblique series and a number of punches or 'dot in circle' motifs. When studied carefully they lead us to identify them as being anthropomorphic representation of some deity, who, in all probability is mothergoddess. These ivory finds not only show the continuation of Harappan mother-goddess cult but provide interesting parallels to similar finds in Iran<sup>18</sup> and Egypt. 19

Nanavati first suggested their origin from Palestine to Mesopolamia to Iran and from there to India20 but later advanced the theory of continuation of Harappan mother-goddess cult.21

Dhavalikar<sup>22</sup> agreed with Nanavati's later theory but has given these figures a new interpretation, that of offerings to Goddess

11. Ibid., pl. XCI, No. 27.

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12. Marshall, J. Taxila, 1951, vol. II, p. 654, pl. 199, No. 12.

13. Sharma, Y. D., 'Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar,' Lalit Kala, 1-2, p. 121.

14. I.A.R., 1955-56, p. 14. 15. I.A.R., 1957-58, p 34.

16. Nanavati, J. M., 'Ivory figures from Prabhasa,' Journal of the M.P. lihasa Parishad, No. 4 (1962), p. 51-61.

17. Trivedi, H. V., Excavations at Avra, Jr. of M.P. Itihasa Parishad, No. 4, (1962), p. 13-40.

18. Girshman, R., Iran, Harmondsworth, 1951, p. 282 and pl. 39B.

19. Petrie, F., Objects of daily use, London, 1927, p. 42, pl. LV, figs. 600-01. 20. Nanavati. J., op. cit., p. 59.

21. Ibid., p. 61.

2. Dhavalikar, M. K. "Eye goddesses in India and their West Asian Dhavalikar, M. K. "Eye goddesses in Anthropos, Vol. 60, (1965), p. 533 to 540.

<sup>10.</sup> Mackay, E., op. cit., pl. CX, Nos. 54-57.

Shitala Devi—the goddess of small-pox. However, one thing is certain that these ivory finds show continuity of Harappan mother goddess cult.<sup>23</sup>

We reach firmer grounds in the Maurya and Sunga periods as far as sources of history are concerned. Terracottas and stone sculptures of this period have been excavated in large numbers. But unfortunately the same is not true with ivory objects. The usual ivory and bone finds from these levels are arrow—heads, dice, antimony—rods, combs, handles and seals (fig. 2). However, certain finds do throw light on India's trade relations with its neighbouring countries during the centuries preceding Christian era.

Find of an Indian ivory at Pompeii, Italy,<sup>24</sup> shows that finished ivory products were favourite export items in 1st cent. B.C.<sup>3</sup> Pompeii was a city of arrival and not of transit, which means that the ivory figure must have been in the proud possession of some Pompeii nobleman who had carefully kept it in a wooden box, which in its turn was inside a wooden almirah.<sup>26</sup> The way it was stored shows that it was a coveted item for the Pompeii-resident. The statuette represents a female figure attended by two side figures (fig. 3). Her nudity is emphasised through the diaphanous dress. She is adorned with heavy jewellery and her parted har is decorated with a beaded circular motif (chūdāmaṇi). Her plaited hair (venī) at her back is an elaborate affair and reminds us of the similar treatment in Sanchi figures.<sup>27</sup> There is a circular hole drilled through the axis of the ivory, evidently intended to receive a metal pin for holding a mirror. Mirror handles fashioned from

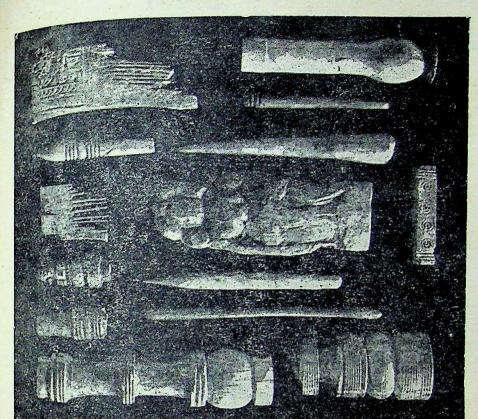
24. Vogel, J. Ph., 'Note on an ivory statuette from Pompeii, Annual bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Vol. XIII, 1938, (Leyden, 1940), p. 1.

26. Maiuri, Dr. Amede, Statuetta eburnea di arte Indian a Pompeli, Le Arti. Translation by Reasul Hasan in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Vol. XIX, parts 1-3, (July-December 1946).

27. Marshall, J. and Foucher, A., The monuments of Sanchi, Vol. II.

<sup>23.</sup> Dwivedi, V. P., 'Ivories of north-West India', paper read at Los Angeles Seminar on Indian Art, Oct. 1970, p. 5.

<sup>25.</sup> Literary references show that as early as 10th cent. B. C. King Solomon received Indian ivories. That ivory export continued in 6th cent. B.C. is attested by King Darius I's inscription at Susa. Later evidence of Ist cent. A.D., is provided by 'the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' which mentions Barygaza as exporting centre of Indian ivories.



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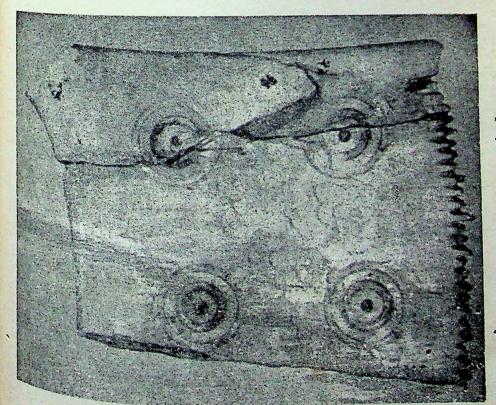
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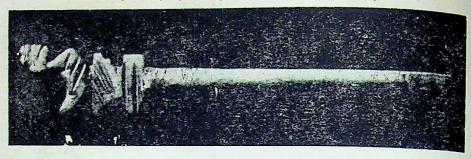
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Fragment of a comb. Ivory. Harappa, c. 2300-1750 B.C. FIG. 1.



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A.D. c. 1st-2nd Begram, scene. Ivory. Toilet



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Fig. 3. Mirror handle with female figure. Ivory. Pom-poli(Italy), c. 1st cent. B.C.

Bone. Fig. 5. Hair pin. Tascila, c. 2nd

female figure. I

ivory seems to have been favourite toilet items. Another mirror handle of bone from Ahicchatra has recently been brought to light.28 This, too, is carved with a female figure standing in 'tribhanga' pose and has a hole for receiving the metal mirror pin On stylistic grounds both these mirror handles can be placed in the 1st cent. B.C.

The find of an ivory comb from the Tripuri excavations from the layers datable to c. 200 B.C. to 100 B.C. led Dr. M. G. Dikshit29 to believe that the Buddhist laws were not very strictly followed in that monastery site as they forbid the use of a comb for the Bhiksus.

The discovery of a large hoard of ivories at Begram<sup>30</sup> (ancient Kapisa) in Afghanistan confirms the importance of trade and cultural contacts between the Indo-Afghanistan and Greco-Roman world. The excavations yielded ivory plaques from India, glass, s'atuettes, metal utensils and plaster moulds from the Near East, and fragments of Chinese lacquer of Han period. It is believed that the ivory plaques once embellished wooden caskets, which crumbled to dust. The plaques show scenes of leisured life. Damsels poised gracefully busy themselves with their toilet (fig. 4), play ball or musical instruments. Subtle attitudes and rounded forms, the skilled workmanship, the type of face and details of headdress and ornaments relate these pieces to Mathura. Stern has therefore, dated them approximately from the end of the 1st to the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D.31

The ivories from Begram are interesting not only from the historical point of view but also for the study of various facts of Indian life in the early centuries of the Christian era. The majority of the subjects deal with various activities in the palace, restricted only to the women's quarters as suggested by an almost total

31. Hackin, J., Nouvelle Researches Archaeologique a Begram, Vol. I,

<sup>28.</sup> Agrawal, R. C., Early Indian Bone Figures in the National Museum, New Delhi, East and West, (N.S.), vol. 18, nos. 3-4, (Rome, 1968); pp. 311-3147 29. Dikshit, M. G., Tripuri, 1952, (Nagpur 1955), p. 131. 30. Hackin, J. and Hackin, M. J., Researches Archaeologiques a Begram, ols. (Paris 1) <sup>2</sup> vols. (Paris, 1939), and Hackin, M. J., Researches Archaeo-logiques and Hackin, J. and others. Nouvelles Researches Archaeologiques a Begram. 2 vols. (Paris, 1939).

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absence of male figures on these plaques.32 The physical types are also noteworthy, the nose is short and arched and the eyes are not so elongated. The anatomical details are represented with a sense of realism devoid of valgarity, which according to Rowland, can be termed as "gently erotic mood and provocative sensuality unmatched anywhere in the art of the world."33 As to the place of origin of these ivories there is no consensus as yet Either they were produced at Mathura because of their close resemblance to its art productions or made locally by imported craftsmen and material. How these different categories of art objects were found in one place is another important question The collection either represents a royal connoisseur's prized possession or "property of an itinerant art dealer whose wares were deposited in the custody of customs at the time of the catastrophe."3 Whatever may be the case, the fact remains that the diversity of art material of Alaxandrian, Indian and even Chinese origin found at Begram is symptomatic. It not only shows how works of art were appreciated and sought after, but also how different models were available for use by the artists of that region and its neighbourhood.

Besides Begram, many other Kushan period sites have yielded ivories and bone carvings of remarkable refinement. Excavations at Taxila brought to light many ivory items. A good number of hair pins (fig. 5) and combs were also found. Quite a few of these combs were decorated with human couples, floral scroll or birds, etc.<sup>35</sup> These were generally semi-circular in shape and had finely cut teeth. The most outstanding among these is an elliptical comb from Sirkap carved on both sides.<sup>36</sup> On one side it shows a reclining female figure in graceful posture and on the other four auspicious symbols i.e. the conch-shell, the elephant, 'Vaijayanti'

32. Auboyer, J., "Ancient Indian ivories from Begram, Afganistan", JISOA, Vol. XVI, (Calcutta, 1948), p. 36.

33. Rowland, Benjamin, The Art and Architecture of India, Penguine Books Ltd., 3rd Edition, 1967, p. 97.

34. Rowland, Benjamin, in Ancient Art of Afghanistan, (Tokyo, 1964).

35. Marshall, J., op. cit., 1951, Vol. II, p. 655-656.
36. Ghosh, A., "Taxila (Sirkap), 1944-45", Ancient India, No. 4, (1947-48), pp. 79-80.

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and the lion. It has been assigned to 1st cent. A.D. on stylistic grounds. These finds show how the prosperous Taxilans were meticulous about their toilet requisites.

Sometimes ivory plaques corroborate popular historical episodes. Such an example is provided by Kondapur excavations,37 which have yielded an ivory-piece showing the abduction of Vasavadatta by Udayana.38 The scene is shown in the form of a narrative. The prince-charming carries away his darling princess to the bewilderment of the man who looks on. Then the royal couple is shown mounted on the back of the elephant. The lower band of the panel shows a four-petalled flower pattern, a motif continuing from Harappan times.

Ivory is an expensive material which can be afforded by the rich only39 and normally one would think that Gupta period, which is known as the golden age of ancient India, must have used ivory extensively. But it is surprising to find very little ivorycarving of the Gupta period.

As against this, the later-Gupta period, which was less prosperous, has left behind a number of ivories of exquisite workmanship.40 These ivories help us draw the following interesting conclusions: (i) that the Kashmir region was quite a productive centre of ivory-carving during the 8th cent.; (ii) however, the petronage seems to have been extended to the Buddhists only, as only the figures of the Buddha and Bodhisatvas have been found and none of any Hindu deity; (iii) we also notice that most of the Kashmir ivory figures were in the form of portable shrines which found their way out of that region to Tibet, Nepal and other adioining areas through students of Buddhist philosophy and pilgrims who frequently visited Kashmir. Later rubbing and colouring shows that they were constantly under worship and came

<sup>37.</sup> Sreenivasachar, P., Kandapur, Hyderabad, pp. 8-9.

<sup>38.</sup> Moti Chandra, 'Ancient Indian Ivories, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, (Bombay), No. 6, 1957-59, p. 21.

<sup>39.</sup> Dwivedi, V. P., 'Ancient Indian Ivories—a fresh study, Paper read the some study, Paper read the some study. at the seminar on 'Material life as depicted in plastic arts upto 3rd cent.

A.D. Organia, v. P., 'Ancient Indian Ivories—a fresh study, at Nagpur, 10-12th, A.D. Organised by the Indian Archaeological Society at Nagpur, 10-12th, Nov. 1970, p. I.

<sup>40.</sup> Dwivedi, V. P., "Ivory carvings from Kashmir", paper under publication in the Golden Jubilee Volume of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

back to India after the Tibetan debacle; (iv) Two wooden shrines encasing the ivories lead us to believe that originally all the Kashmir ivories were enshrined in portable wooden alter.

During the early medieval period (10th to 13th cent. A.D.) Orissa became an important centre of ivory carvings and specialised in the production of throne legs, quite a few of which have come to light. The ivories of this period demonstrate a clear departure from the ideal of the classical age in their devotion to details at the expense of expression. Over-embellishment is at once the strength and weakness of these creations.\*

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41. Dwivedi, V. P., Ivories Indians, Arts Asiatiques, Tome XVI, (Paris 1967), pp. 59-74.

\*The author is grateful to Sri S. P. Nanda, Photographer, National Museum, N. Delhi for preparing the illustrations.

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### The Origin and Development of the Stupa Architecture in India

BY

#### SUSHILA PANT

Rhys Davids' remark that "the topes were not necessarily Buddhist monuments, but in fact, pre-Buddhist, and indeed only a slight modification of a world-wide custom" of erecting a structure over the remains of the dead or at the place of cremation, is significant. The Stupa architecture as revealed by the extant monuments might not have existed in the pre-Buddhist period but at least the custom of erecting a structure over the remains of the dead had been referred to in the Vedic and Brahmanical literatures.2 Archaeological excavations3 have also shown that in the ancient past the tradition of constructing a structure over the remains of the dead or at the place of cremation was well observed. The Buddha himself had referred to the tradition of erecting the stupa over the remains of the kings. He said "as men treat the remains of a king or kings, so should they treat the remains of a Tathagata. A Tathagata or Arhat Buddha is worthy of a thupa, a pacheka Buddha is worthy of a Stupa, a true hearer of the

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<sup>1.</sup> Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 80.

<sup>2.</sup> The Mahābhārata: Aranyaka-parva, 2.229, mentions Yūpa-Chaitya erected at the burial spot. 'Aiduka' was another structure, Vishnūdharmottara Purāna: Pratimālakshana; Kānd 111. Vol. 11, 34.41; 'Chaitya' was another funeral monument; The Rāmāyana: Ayodhyā Kāndam, 3 Canto, 11.3.18; The Mahābhārata: XIV 10-32; Arthaśātra, Chapt. 111, 18, V2, XII.5; Yājña-valkya Smriti: 11.151; Smaśāna was a common funeral ground having a structure: Satapatha Brāhmana. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XII, pp. 423-25.

<sup>3.</sup> Rev. Heras, S. I., "The Megalithic tombs and the Indus Valley Civilisation" Indian History Congress, Vol. 15, 1952, pp. 37-39, T. V. G. Shastry, "Cultural Heritage of Nagarjunakonda", Journal of the Oriental Institute, Pitras", Vol. XII. No. 1, 1961-62, p. 3; D. R. Shastri, "Cult and Images of the Pitras", JISOA, Vol. VII, 1939. pp. 61-64.

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Tathagata is worthy of a thupa."4 At another place the Buddha referred to a Śārīra thūpa enshrining the bones.<sup>5</sup> In the Sūjātā Jātaka there is a reference to erecting a Matṭikā Thūpa enshrining the relics of Sūjātā's grand-father.<sup>6</sup> In the Bāhiya Sutta it has been alluded that the Buddha asked the monks to erect a Stūpa outside the city of Śrāvastī in honour of Bāhiya.7 Thus, on the evidence of the Buddha himself it may be said that originally the Stupa was conceived as a funeral mound containing the relies of the Tathagata or a Arhat either for the sake of commemoration or for the sake of worship. This practice was very much in keeping with the past tradition of worshipping and commemorating the dead. But the significant thing about the Stupa was that it was not simply conceived as a structure built on the remains of the dead Tathāgata; it symbolised His presence as well. As the Buddha himself said "this is the cairn of that Able Awakened One, the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death when the body has dissolved in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a Tathagata, and Able Awakened One is worth of a cairn."8 Henceforth the Stupa was given a new meaning and a new dimension and as Anagarika G. Govinda has succinctly remarked that the Buddha "elevated the Stupa "from the service of the dead to the service of the living. Its meaning does not remain centred in the particular relics, or the particular personality to whom these remains belonged but in that higher actuality which was realized by the Holy ones . . . thus, the Stupas did not become objects of hero-worship but symbols of Nibbana or illumination."9 But as far the Stupa architecture is concerned the Buddhist literatures except giving some details about the stages of its construction do not throw any light upon its dimension, components, shape and embellishments. In the Mahāvansa there are two references about the shape of the Stūpa.

<sup>4.</sup> Rhys Davids, (tr.) Buddhist Texts.

<sup>5.</sup> The Mahaparinibbana Sutta, Dhatu thura pūja, p. 83. 6. Sujata Jataka: F. N. 352.

<sup>7.</sup> B. M. Barua, Bharhut: Book 111, p. 9. 8. Rhys Davids. (tr.) Dialogues of the Buddha. Vol. 11, Mahaparinib bāna Sutta. p. 55.

<sup>9.</sup> Anāgarika B. Govinda, Some Aspects of Stūpa Symbolism, p. 2.

At one place it has been referred to like a 'bubble' and at another place it is compared with a 'bell'. In the Kriyāsamgraha Panjikā, eighth Prakaraṇa, the kinds of Stūpa based upon the hape has been mentioned. But it is of late period and refers to the Stūpas of Nepal. According to it there are four shapes of the Stūpaphānyākriti, Patrākriti, Gandākriti and Kalśākriti. For this reason the origin of the Stūpa Architecture has remained a subject matter of many speculations and reasoned conjectures.

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Many Indologists and scholars have suggested different theories of the origin of the Stūpa architecture¹o and there is a general consensus among the majority of them that the Stūpa architecture in its pristine form originated from the age old custom of burial and the tradition to erect a funeral monument on the remains of the dead. Professor S. K. Saraswati seems nearer to the truth when he suggests that "the most probable view seems to be that this hemispherical structure emerged out of the earthen funeral mounds (Smaśāna), under which according to Vedic rituals, the ashes of the dead were buried."¹¹ Since the time of Aśōka simultaneous tradition of constructing Stupas over the relics as well as without the relics continued to prevail in the country. The

<sup>10.</sup> F. B. Havell considers it 'Aryan royal tomb' derived from the Aryan chieftain's hut: A Handbook of Indian Art, pp. 4-5; V. A. Smith also accepts it as a funeral mound, The Jaina Stūpa and otehr Antiquities of Mathurā pp 12-14; A. Foucher maintains it as 'ancient form of tumulus': L'art Grace Buddhique; John Marshall also accepts it a 'Funeral mound': Guide to Sanchi, p. 30; Henry Cousin feels that the Stupa originated from the funeral tumulus': The Architectural Antiquity of Western India, p. 8; B. M. Barua also supports this theory, Bhārhut, Vol. III, p. 18; A. H. Longhurst also subscribes cribes to this view: The Story of the Stupa; T. M. Ramachandran believes in the in the funeral origin of the Stupa: Nagarjunakonda; Stella Kramrisch is of opinion that the Stupa architecture is the resultant of the combination of Vedic altar' and 'Cairn' of the ancient time", The Art of India Through the Ages, p. 16; O. C. Ganguly opines that the Stupa originated from the tomb.  $\tau$ ,  $\tau$ tomb: Indian Architecture, pp. 6-7; A. C. Banerjee says that 'it is quite Possible that the round form of Asura burial mound ultimately gave birth to round Stūpa....', JBORS, Vol. XXI Part 11, 1934, p. 182; Hermann Goetz and Madam Benisti both believe that the Stupa developed from the funeral mound A. Benisti both believe that the Stupa developed from the funeral mound. Art of the World Series: India; Etude Sur Le Stupa Dans L'Inde Ancienne, Vol. L. Part 1. 1960, etc., etc.

<sup>11.</sup> S. K. Saraswati. The Age of Imperial Unity: (The History and Culture of the Indian People), Vol. II, p. 488.

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archaeological evidences12 and the extant monuments13 along with the literary references show that the Stūpa building activities were not confined only to the erection of the Stupas over the remains of the Tathagata and His Disciples but they used to be constructed for preserving the belongings of the Tathagata or His Disciples or at a holy spot or for the sake of commemoration or for the sake of getting salvation. Even in the pre-Buddhist society the Jainas used to erect the Stūpas on the holy spots or to commemorate a place visited by the Tirthankaras. Thus, to accept the theory that the Stupa originated from the tumulus and is, therefore, a relic chamber does not seem to provide an answer to the origin of the non-relic Stūpas. Moreover, this also does not enlighten us on the origin of the architecture of the Stupa. The origin of the nonrelic Stunas is to be traced from some other source. It is most probable that the non-relic Stupas might have originated from the socio-cultural and political needs of the time. It might have an imitative origin as well.

Since the time of Aśoka, Buddhism became the state religion. But there were other religions which were competing with it. I is quite probable that the rovalties in order to banish older forms of religions had introduced the Stūpas as means of worship 14 If is also possible that in the hands of the Kings Stūpa gradually became the means for seeking submission and obedience to the royal authority. As it was not possible to acquire so many relies of the Tathagata or His Disciples over which stupas could be built and as the Stupas were to be used as a magic-mystic instrument both for the sake of personal salvation as well as for the welfare of the State—the macrocosm and a living organism—Stūpa building activities were to be expanded beyond its original character.

<sup>12.</sup> Sānchi Stūpa No. 1 did not contain any relics: A. Cunningham, Bhilst Topes, pp. 300 and 305. But J. Fergusson gave the dimension of the relicion found the same of the relicion of the relicion found the same of the relicion of t box found therein which suggests that it had the relics, Tree and Serpent worship, p. 96. The Stupa at Bhattiprolu, did not centain relics. The Stupa at Bhata Flians also at Bhājā, Ellorā also did not contain the relics. Kankāli Tilā Stūra also did not contain the relics. Kankāli Tilā Stūra also did not contain any relics, V. A. Smith, The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathema n. A. ties of Mathurā, p. 4.

<sup>13.</sup> Henry Cousen. The Architectural Antiquity of Western India, Alexander Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. pp. 41-90.

<sup>14.</sup> This might be probable as at some places Gandharvas, Yākshas were worshipped.

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# DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

Plobably this had led to the origin and development of the nonrelic Stúpas. Hermann Goetz also seems inclined towards this view.15

It may also be pointed out that the ecological, economic, social, religious and cultural forces contributed substantially in the development of the Stupa architecture. In general it could be said that the Stupas are either the folk-variants or the results of the influence of the royalty or social aristocracies, or the resultants of the Buddhist philosophy, or the expression to the sects and subsects of Buddhism, or the out-come of the synthesis of the Hindu, Buddhist and Hellenic architectural traditions or the effects of the reassertion of the Brahmanical tradition or the off-shoot of the Bhakti-cult or in a few cases the cumulative result of some of these factors.

The Stupas at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amravati, to a great extent, are the results of the will of the royalty and of the social aristocracy. 16 The Stupa at Nagarjunakonda is the expression to the then existing sects and sub-sects of Buddhism.17 The Péshāwar Stupa and the Stupas in Gandhara are the specimens of the combination of the Hellenistic tradition with the Indian. 18 Stūpas of the West Coast with the images of the Buddha are partly the out-come of the influence of the Brāhmanical tradition and the Bhaktī cult and largely of the Mahāyana philosophy. 19 The Stūpa at Sarnath seems to be partly the product of the work of the royalty, partly due to the effects of the Buddhist philosophy and Partly due to the revivalism of the past tradition.<sup>20</sup>

Further, the Stūpa architecture seems to have developed along with the over-all prosperity. The massiveness of the architectures and the embellishments on the late Stūpas seem to be closely

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<sup>15.</sup> Hermann Goetz, India, p. 43.

<sup>16.</sup> J. Marshall, Guide to Sāñchi; B. M. Barua, Bhārhut; J. Burgess, Notes on Amrāvatī Stūpa.

<sup>17.</sup> R. C. Rao, The Art of Nāgārjunakonda; Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1938, Nos. 54 and 55.

<sup>18.</sup> J. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 83; H. Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture, p. 63.

<sup>19.</sup> J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, Cave Temples of India.

<sup>20.</sup> Archaeological Survey of India Reports 1861-62; D. R. Sahni, Guide to the Buddhist ruins of Sarnath.

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connected with the economic prosperity of the people. The Stupas which were constructed over a long span of time and where the element of donation was large both their architectures and embsllishments show greater complexity and dexterity. The Toranas of Sanchi and Bharhut, the railings of Bharnut and Amrāvatī, the Aryaka plattorms and the Aryaka pillars of Amrāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,21 the elongation of the domes of the Ellorā and Ajantā Stūpas<sup>22</sup> the embellishments on them - all suggest that during these days the economic prosperity was at its peak. Rich traders, merchants and aristocrats used to compete among themselves for donations. As during the latter part of the 3rd century A.D. donations towards the construction of the various components of the Stūpa architecture had become a convenient means to attain salvation, rich people contributed a lot towards the development of the Stupa architecture. This could be ascertained from the additions to the Stūpas during the Guptā period when the economic prosperity was undisputed.23

Thus it might be that both the structural and the rock-cut Stupas seem to have developed out of the then prevalent practice of erecting a funeral monument and under the various socioeconomic, politico-religious and ecological compulsions. But the Stupa architecture in its different ramifications does not seem to be conceived of as 'one piece structure.' Archaeological evidences, epigraphical and numismatic records also, to some extent, confirm it. As such, to accept that the Stūpa has been derived from any one structure of the ancient past seems not only utopian but also fallacious. The Stūpa architecture has its growth. It is evolutionary and assimilative in character. Buddhism, it seems, only helped in the continuous process of assimilation, adaptation and evolution of the earlier structural tradition leading finally to the Stupa architecture. The Stupa from the mud and wooden structure containing the relics gradually developed into a brick and stone structure of moderate height with a hemispherical dome and circular base followed by further elongation of each of the com-

<sup>21.</sup> Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1938, Nos. 54 and 55; Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. 1.

<sup>22.</sup> K. R. Srinivasan, Rock-cut Monuments, later Buddhist Caves.

23. Unpublished thesis of the writer, "Origin and Development of Stups Architecture from the earliest times to c. 700 A.D."

ponents of the structure on a square or rectangular base. From the point of embellishment also the Stupa embellishments show an point of from plain structure to highly ornamented, from the miconic to iconic tradition. The later Stūpas seem to be more developed, more refined and more sophisticated from both the architectural and decorative point of views. This evolutionary nature of the Stupa architecture further gets support from the varied architectural patterns of the Stūpa tound in the countries of South and South East Asia. If one analyses the different components of the Stūpa architecture and looks into the ancient texts one will find that almost all the components of the Stupa architecture were in existence in the pre-Buddhist period and were used in more or less for the same purposes. In the Mansara one gets the references to the Anda or Garbha referring to the repository of idol. Therein also one gets the reference to Tóranas, Vedikās, Chattra, Sópāna, Pradikshaṇāpath, Médhī and Harmíkā. In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana also one finds these references. In civil and palace architectures these were the components and have been mentioned in the ancient treatises on architecture. In relation to the temple architecture also many of the elements of the Stupa architecture are common and had existed prior to the origin of the Stūpa architecture. The Stūpa architecture has assimilated many of the architectural components from the secular, civil, Brāhmanical and religious structures of the ancient past. This would become clear from the references in the ancient Indian <sup>texts</sup>, like the Upanishad,<sup>24</sup> Mānsāra, Purānas etc.<sup>25</sup>

In the Chandogya Upanishad 'Amalaka' is called the Anda.26 In the Copper Plate Inscription the word "Trigarbha" occurs.27 In the Mānsāra Dhātu-garbha has been mentioned.28 This word has been frequently used for denoting the sanctum where the idol is kept in a temple. If the Stūpa hemispherical dome has been called the Anda or the Garbha it is only the acceptance and reproduction of the temple architecture. Similarly, the railings

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<sup>24.</sup> The Chandogya Upanishad.

<sup>25.</sup> Matsya Purāna.

<sup>26.</sup> Chāndogya Upanishad, Chap. III, p. 107.

<sup>27.</sup> Sohgaura Copper Plate Inscription: The Brihat Samhitā, LXI, 12, FR.A.S. Vol. VI, p. 318.

<sup>28.</sup> Mānsāra, p. 240.

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have been erected to protect the place from danger. The tradition of Chaitya within railings or tree within railings is very old.29 The gateways at the four cardinal points "corresponding to the four seasons"30 is nothing but the acceptance of the Brāhmanical tradition. The Matsya Purāna mentions that the pavilion should have four faces and be furnished with four gateways.31 In ancient India there had been a long tradition of erecting the Victory gateways.32 The gateways of Sānchi and Bharhut might be but imitation and adaptation of these civil tradition in architecture. In the sameway the sópāna of the Stūpa owed its origin to the palace and secular architectures of moderate or great height. The existence of the Pradikshanapath also is the imitation and acceptance of the Brāhmanical tradition. The Pārasar Grihya Sūtra mentions the circumambulation of the sacrificial fire.33 In the Nārada Purāna it has been mentioned in connection with Yūpa.34 Stella Kramrisch believes that the Aryaka Platforms and Pillars seem to have originated from the Central India tradition of building the Ayagapatta and pillars as objects of reverence. She further suggests that the Aryaka Platforms may be considered as the reproduction of ancient open-air altars and the Āryaka Pillars might be the Buddhist adaptation of the ancient Yūpas erected at a sacred place.25

To sum up, it was be said that the Stupa architecture seems to have developed through successive stages in which primitive, tribal, Brahmanical, megalithic, Jaina, folk traditions, regional influences, civil, secular and religious architectures all have played their role at some stage of its development. It is a type as well as a class in itself.

<sup>29.</sup> Mānsāra, Pl. IX, p. 364; Kautilya, The Arthasāstra, Chapter II, Sloves 25, 27, 2017. kas: 26-27, p. 91; Bhagwatī Sūtra, 20.9.su. 684 and 794.

<sup>30.</sup> Grundwell, A Handbook of Indian Art, p. 54; The Rāmāyana, V,3,33; Vāyu Purāna, Part 1, XXXIX, VV. 36,51,60.

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33.</sup> In the Grihya Sūtra, the idea of circumambulation of a holy place is given; Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX, Chapt. IV, Kandika, 2, Asva-, layana Grihya Sūtra, p. 238.

<sup>34.</sup> Narada Purāna, 14-68-69.

<sup>35.</sup> Stella Kramrisch, The Art of India through the Ages, p. 19.

# Epigraphical Evidence for the Chronology of Ajanta

#### SOBHNA GOKHALE

The chronology or the Mahāyana monuments at Ajanta is a complex problem. Very little is known about the royal patrons who are responsible for the flowering of this phase at Ajanta. Except the Vākāṭaka King Harisena and his feudatory one Rsika ruler, whose name is not known, nothing is known about the architectural activities of other Vākātaka rulers. However, scholars have tried to determine the chronology of the caves of Mahāyāna group with the help of plans, figure sculptures, ornate pillars, picture galleries and inscriptions. Unfortunately, at Ajanta not a single inscription is dated either in regnal or in any specific era. The inscription1 in cave number XVI, however, contains genealogies of the Vākāṭaka house of the Vatsagulma branch and its minister Varahadeva. The inscription2 in cave number XVII records the excavation of a gem like monolithic mandapa, and 'Gandhakuṭi.' (Cave number XIX). Cave number XXVI3 records the excavation of a rock-hewn temple. Therefore, in the sequence of development of the Mahāyana phase at Ajanta there are two important factors:

- (1) To fix the date of Harisena;
- (2) To determine the period of the termination of architectural activities at Ajanta.

The inscriptions in cave number XVI, XVII and in the Ghatotkacha cave, though they record genealogies of King Harisena, are mutilated and have no trace of any date. Mirashi with the help of the Poona plates4 of Prabhāvatigupta where the genealogy of the imperial Guptas is recorded and the dates of the Uchchakalpa

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<sup>1.</sup> CII, V, p. 103.

<sup>2.</sup> CII, V, p. 120.

<sup>3.</sup> Yazdani Ajanta, Vol. IV, p. 112. 4. Ep. Ind., XV, p. 41.

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King Jayanātha<sup>5</sup> determined the chronology of the two houses of the Vākāṭakas. He supported his theory with Puranic evidence and the regnal dates of the Vākāṭaka copper—plates. Mirashi assigned the reign of Hariṣena from 475 A.D. to 500 A.D. whereas Mujumdar extended the rule of Hariṣena upto 510 A.D. Recently Walter Spink on the basis of evidence derived from the study of Buddhist and Hindu monuments arrived at the conclusion that "The Mahāyāna phase at Ajanta was one of remarkably intense patronage and swift development" and further he has associated the great phase of patronage with Hariṣena's reign. Consequently he assigned the reign of Hariṣena from 460 to 490 A.D.

The Hisse-Borala<sup>6</sup> inscription of Devasena which is dated in \$ 380 affords some precise data for chronology. It records that King Devasena, the father of Harisena constructed a lake named Sudarsana in \$aka 380 (458 A.D.). This is the only evidence which shows Devasena's interest in a public work but nothing is known about his role in the architectural activities at Ajanta. Spink has ended the reign of Devasena by 480 A.D. There is no palaeographically sound reasaon to terminate the political life of Devasena just two years after the available date and hence in the present state of knowledge the dates of Devasena and Harisena given by Mirashi should be accepted. (450 A.D. to 475 A.D. and 475 A.D. to 500 A.D.).

There is no palaeographically sound evidence to fix the initial date of Harişena's reign but the terminal point of the end of Harişena's reign may be fixed with the help of new copper-plates of Madhyamasena. In the inscription in cave number XVI Harişena is credited with a victory over Trikuṭa but so far the name of the King whom Hariṣena defeated was not known. The Kanheri plates of the Traikuṭakas which are dated in the Kalachuri era (245 K) (495 A.D.) record the construction of a Chaitya. The inscription does not mention the name of the king but with the discovery of these Traikuṭaka plates very interesting information has come to light. The copper plates record the name of the king

6. Ep. Ind., XXXVII, p. 1.

<sup>5.</sup> CII, III, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup>a. Paper submitted to the All India Oriental Conference 1971.

<sup>7.</sup> CII, V, p. 103.

<sup>8.</sup> CH, IV, Part I, p. 31.

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### EPIGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY OF AJANTA

as Madhyamasena who was so far not known in history. They are dated in K. 256 (A.D. 506) and were issued eleven years after the Kanheri plates. A logical synchronism may be established in all these events. The absence of the name of the ruling king in the Kanheri plates suggests political disturbance. The Traikutaka king who received a blow at the hands of Harisena might be Madhyamasena who was the successor of Vyāghrasena. The postdated inscription definitely suggests that the power of Madhyamasena was temporarily eclipsed by Harisena but was restored by 506 A.D. This synchronism ultimately indicates the end of the rule of Harisena by 500 A.D. and in no case it should be extended to the first decade of sixth century A.D.

For the determination of chronology there are other factors to be taken into consideration. The Vākāṭaka region was really the middle geographical zone of the country and Ajanta lies on the ancient trade route from Ujjayini to Pratisthana; therefore, traditions from all directions reached this region. Ajanta was a cultural centre and hence one would find there an admixture of various influences. So far as the palaeography is concerned there is equal weight of northern, southern and western traditions. Therefore, the influence of the western variety of southern script could be observed in the inscriptions of Ajanta. The box-headed variety of Brāhmī which developed in the Vākāṭaka court previously existed in eastern Malwa. Therefore, it existed in the Eran inscription9 of Samudragupta and Udayagiri inscription10 of Chandragupta II. The box-headed variety is a beautiful mixture of two traditions. Dr Dani has pointed out that the southern influence had penetrated along with the Sātavāhana advance in the North and in the 4th Century A.D. this writing received a new character by the addition of a square on the top of the letter. Wherever the influence of the Vākāṭakas, their writing had its Sharely We notice its influence in the inscriptions of the Gurjaras, in the Sharabhapura<sup>12</sup> kings. The influence may be observed in the Bilsadia. Bilsad<sup>13</sup> inscription of Kumāragupta I. It marched towards east

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<sup>9.</sup> CII, III, p. 20. 10. CII, III, p. 25.

<sup>11.</sup> Ep. Ind. VI, p. 14, 46. 12. CII, III, p. 191.

<sup>13.</sup> CII, III, p. 43.

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and south and shows its elements in the Yekkari14 inscription of Pulakeśi II and in the inscriptions of the Gangas of Kalinga, 15 lt continued in the Vākāṭaka dominion even after the fall of the Vākātaka empire is proved by the Nagardhan plates<sup>16</sup> of Svāmirāja dated in K. 322 (522 A.D.). The whole discussion shows that the palaeographical chronometer may be successfully employed for the purpose of chronology but then the results derived from such indications should be considered as approximate and not precise With the help of treatment of cells, layout of the shrines Spink places cave number XVII slightly later than cave number XVI This sort of chronological precision is not possible if one has to confine to palaeography alone. The inscription17 in cave number XX shows the circle type of medial 'i', the Deccani type of 'ta' with a loop at the left side, (ka) has the usual curved vertical, 'va' is tripartite and, therefore, on palaeographical ground, the inscription may be assigned to a period ranging from A.D. 450 to A.D. 525. The other three inscriptions 18 in cave number XXVI may be assigned to the same period.

So far as the painted inscriptions are concerned, there are no similar painted dated inscriptions for comparison and therefore the painted letters are to be compared either with the letters of copperplates or with those of rock-cut inscriptions. Moreover, it would not be a fair comparison as the painters of Ajanta could move their brushes freely and had sufficient scope for individual mannerism Inspite of this freedom a careful study of painted inscriptions at Ajanta shows that the painters at Ajanta remained faithful to the tradition. This has been clearly indicated by the painted Satavahana inscription<sup>19</sup> in cave number X. Cave number XXVI contains two painted inscriptions.20 Both of them show knobs on the top of the letter though they maintain the general characteristics of the script. Addition of knobs on the heads of the letters is definitely a Kalachuri style. The painted inscriptions<sup>21</sup> in cave

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<sup>14.</sup> Ep. Ind., V, p. 8.

<sup>15.</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 361.

<sup>16.</sup> CII, IV, Part II, p. 611.

<sup>17.</sup> Yazdani, Ajanta, IV, p. 112. 18. Ibid.

<sup>19.</sup> Burgess, J. Arch. Surv. Western India, Vol. IV, LIX 1.

<sup>21.</sup> Ep. Ind., XXXIII, p. 259.

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number IV and cave<sup>22</sup> number XXII have been also assigned to the first half of the sixth century A.D. by Sircar and Dhavalikar.

Even a statistical analysis of the letters in the Ajanta inscriptions indicate that the pendulum of the palaeographic chronometer does not move beyond 525 A.D. This shows that the Vākaṭaka architectural activities came to an end shortly after Hariṣena's reign. As suggested by Mirashi from the historical data in Dandin's Daśakumaracarita the Vākāṭaka power passed into the hands of a weak successor. The temporary Kalachuri phase ended by 525 A.D. as they diverted their attention on the western coast. But the Raṣṭrakuṭa inscription in cave number XXVI definitely shows that the architectural activities continued even upto 8th and 9th centuries.

<sup>22.</sup> ARS Orientalis, Vol. VII, p. 147-153, 1968.

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#### Elephant in Indian Art

BY

#### B. CH. CHHABRA

Elephant is an emblem of India par excellence. It stands for such sterling qualities as sagacity, strength, courage, fortitude, gentleness, devotion, love and the like. Its popularity is evident everywhere. About 20 years ago, the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department issued a series of special stamps, illustrating some of the outstanding archaeological relics of India, monuments, sculptures, paintings and the like. And, if you remember, the very first of that series, the three-pies stamp, the stamp of the lowest denomination, represents an elephant. It depicts a young elephant, disporting itself in a lake, tossing lilies and lotuses, and munching stems and stalks, after one of the famous fresco paintings of Ajanta. A lonely creature, but obviously happy, content and care-free! Its appearance on a postal stamp of the lowest denomination signifies its high renown and wide popularity. It may be added that later on the same department issued a series of stamps depicting the fauna of India and that there again the elephant figures prominently, the 30 paise stamp having the figure of a majestic elephant. Besides, the current 8 paise stamp has one of the two sculptured elephants of Konarak illustrated on it.

Elephant has lived in our midst from time immemorial. And, in course of time, for its fine qualities, our forefathers raised it to godhead. As such it continues enjoying our adoration under the significant appellations: Ganeśa, Ganapati, Vināyaka, Vighneśvara, Gajānana and so forth. It is the Elephant-headed God of Good Luck. Every pious Hindu pays homage to Lord Ganeśa and invokes his blessings before starting his day's work or a new venture. He is the remover of all impediments and obstacles, and the grantor of success and prosperity. It is remarkable that the modern scientists have given credence to this sentiment; for in their language the elephant is called Elephas Ganesa and its remote predecessor Stegodon Ganesa.

We may bypass the geological and zoological aspects of our elephant. We are not so much concerned with him as an animal as with his description in literature and depiction in art. Nor do we propose to deal with him in the context of Preservation of Wild Life however important this aspect may be in itself. Those interested in schemes of National Parks, Preservation of Wild Life, and the like, will find very informative and useful data in such old literary works as the Mānasollāsa of the Chālukya King Someśvara, which is a veritable encyclopaedia.

Concerning Ganesa or Gajānana, the Elephant-faced God of Good Luck, the Hindu mythology has numerous interpretations of his birth and exploits. We need not go into details thereof either. It is well known that every village in India has some images of this god, with his characteristic elephant-head, belonging to all periods of plastic art in India. And there are festivals when effigies of this god are made in clay in great numbers, painted in gaudy colours, and sold in the bazaars. In certain parts, these are later on ceremoniously immersed in waters of holy tanks or rivers.

The history of Indian art starts from the Harappa Culture or the Indus Valley Civilization, which dates back roughly from 3000 years B.C. Among the hundreds of stone seals and amulets recovered from the Harappan sites there are a good few that have a figure of an elephant engraved on them. Those with the figure of a bull engraved on them are by far the most numerous. 'Those engraved with an elephant come next in number; the remaining ones showing figures of several other animals, including the tiger. The archaeologists believe that these animals were regarded as objects of worship, gods and demi-gods, by the people to whom the seals and amulets belonged. Commenting on them, Sir John Marshall says with reference to the elephant: "In Aryan India, however, the elephant appears as Airavata, the vehicle of Indra, but it is as Ganesa or Ganapati—the God of Wisdom and Enterprise and the Embodiment of Good Luck—that he is most widely worshipped." This is what Sir John observes. It may, however, be pointed out that the representations on the seals show the arings in natural form, and not as Ganesa or Airāvata. The trappings and rugs on most of these figures indicate that in India man had already, in that early period, domesticated the elephant. It may further be added that the Harappan antiquities so far discovered

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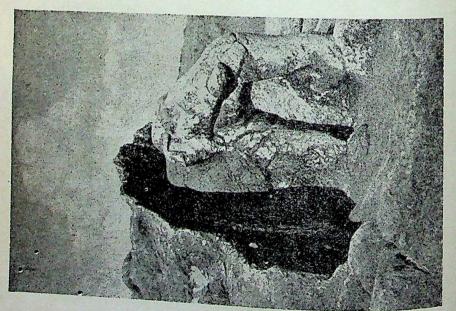
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 $H_{arappan}$  seals from Mohenjodaro—Nos. 362-381. Period  $\pm$  2500 B.C.



Bharhut: Śunga period 200 B.C. Dream of Queen Māyā; white elephant descending from heaven into Mayā; womb-conception of the Buddha

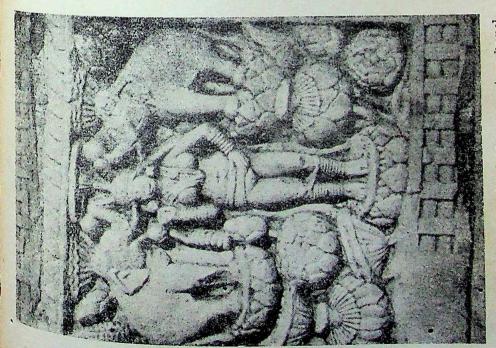


Dhauli: Unfinished sculpture of elephant; rock bearing Asoka's inscriptions; Maurya period

Dhauli: bearing



Sanchi: Gajalakshmī, a stone panel, Buddhist stūpa No. II. Kushāṇa period A.D. 300

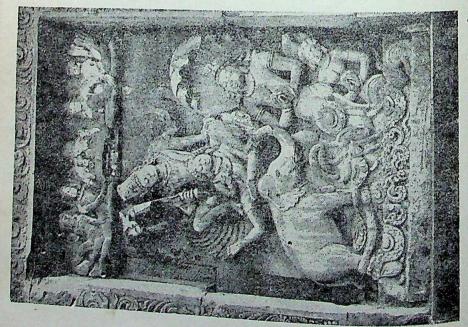


Sanchi: Māyā or Gajalakshmī, on a stone panel in the stone railing of the Buddhist stūpa. Kushāna period A.D. 200



On a rock depicting Arjuna's renance; grove with of wild elephants. Pallava period A.D. 700 Mahabalipuram:

a herd



Deogarh: Gupta period A.D. 400 sculptured panel at the Dasavatara temple, depicting the Gajendra-mokena or release of the Elephant Lord myth.

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dra- Mahabalipuram: On a rock depicting Arjuna's Fenance; grove with of wild elephants. Pallava period A.D. 700

at the Dasavatara temple, depicting the Gajendra-moksha or release of the Elephant Lord myth.

include quite a few ivory objects, too. Moreover, a partly preserved skeleton of an elephant and a large fragment of a tusk also are found among them. Among the more artistic objects are "a well-executed copper statuette of an elephant.....cast in the round," and a copper tablet with an outline drawing of a composite animal, half bull and half elephant. Chanhudaro, one of the Harappan sites, has yielded a terracotta toy elephant. All these bits of evidence go to prove that the people in that remote age were familiar with the elephant and had it tamed for their use.

Scholars have not yet agreed as to the age of the *Vedas* and their relation with the Harappan Culture; though references in the *Rigveda* such as the mention of Hariyūpīyā, possibly to be identified with the ancient city of Harappa, may make them more or less contemporaneous with the Harappan Culture. In any case, the authors of the *Vedas* knew the elephant and saw in the rain clouds the flying elephant, Airāvata, the vehicle of Indra—Indra, the God of Rain and of the Sky. This must have been symbolical; but in the Hindu mythology and iconography, Airāvata actually assumes the form of a stately elephant. There are artistic illustrations of Indra riding his elephant *vāhana* (vehicle).

It is significant that the term used for elephant in the Vedas is hastimrga which literally means a beast with a limb functioning as a hand, that is its trunk. Possibly they were coining a word for the elephant. Later on the adjective hasti became the substantive, denoting 'elephant.' Another similar term is hastinega, where naga denotes 'serpent.' The original name of Hastinapura, capital of the Kauravas and the Pandavas, is Hastinagapura as found in certain Buddhist texs. Clouds, serpents and elephants got so mingled in early Aryan literature that they are often denoted by identical terms

After the Harappan period there is a big gap in history, extending over a thousand years. The people, however, must have been busy during this time perfecting the technique of capturing and taming wild elephants. Glimpses of this are found in the two epics, the  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$  and the  $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$ . In the description of the city of Ayodhyā in Vālmīki's  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ , names of certain types of elephants are mentioned. This shows that by that time a regular  $\bar{a}stra$  or lore, later on known as  $Gajas\bar{a}stra$ , had been evolved and

studied. Those very terms, bhadra, mandra and mrga, denoting three different basic types of elephants, are found mentioned in later treatises on elephant lore, some of which have survived and are known to the scholarly world.

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As to the depiction of elephant in art, relating to the period between the Harappan age and the so-called historic time in India, beginning, say, with the invasion of Alexander the Great, we have some early punch-marked coins and certain types of seals, with an effigy of the elephant on them. In the British Museum at London, there is a remarkable silver medal, said to belong to the time of Alexander the Great. On one side of it is represented the Indian king, Puru, Porus of the Greek historians, riding his stately elephant and piercing with a back stroke of his lance a horse-rider intent upon chasing him. According to Greek historians, Porus was defeated and captured by Alexander.

It is also known that, after the Porus episode, Alexander met with some reverses and could not proceed further on his victorious march. Later on, we know, one of his generals, Seleucus Nicator by name, who was ruling over the region round Takshaśilā, modern Taxila, came into conflict with Chandragupta the Maurya. The conflict ended in a matrimonial alliance, and Seleucus Nicator returned to his homeland with a present of some war elephants from Chandragupta.

India was the first to employ the elephant in warfare. It is from the Indians that the Persians learnt this science and passed it on to the Greeks. The Indian army consisted of four divisions: elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. On account of this the army was called *chaturangini* senā, meaning 'an army consisting of four divisions.' Incidentally, this gave rise to the game of Chess, called in India on that account *Chaturanga*, now popularly known as Shatranj. The heavy artillery of the modern warfare has replaced the elephant of olden days.

There exist quite a few Sanskrit works on elephant lore. It is apparent from them that the main purpose of capturing and training elephants was to use them in warfare. In the process, elephant became a symbol of royalty and as such was often used on festive occasions with much pomp and show. His use in temple processions is perhaps of a comparatively late origin.

The following are some of the important works on elephant Jore: Hastyāyurveda of Pālakāpya; Matangalīlā of Nilakantha; Gajaparīkshā; Gajachikitsā; and the one already mentioned, namely Mānasollāsa of Somadeva. We need not get into the details of their contents. It may, however, be pointed out that they contain hundreds of terms and expressions that are peculiar to elephant lore and are not listed in the existing Sanskrit dictionaries. They have survived in their distorted forms in the present day lingo of the mahauts or elephant-drivers. The term mahaut is a contraction of the original Sanskrit mahāmātra. These mahāmātras in ancient times constituted an important class of functionaries in royal courts. The trapping and the training of elephants were also under their charge.

For our purpose, technical works on elephant lore or stray references to it are not so important as the mythological legends that were gathering round the elephant during each successive period of history. And herein all the three main religions of ancient India, namely Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism, vied with one—another in bringing the elephant into the forefront. The monuments erected by Aśoka and those raised in his wake display the impetus the depiction of elephant in plastic art received in ever increasing measure. The Brahmanical myths, involving elephants, like those of Gajendramoksha and Gajāsuravadha, found artistic expression in the Gupta and post-Gupta period—the so-called Golden Age of Indian history. The royal patrons of art that follow, expecially in the south and in the east, made worthy additions to the rich heritage of sculptural wealth. The role of elephant herein continues unabated.

From the accompanying illustrations it will be clear that apart from the sculptures, elephant was a favourite theme even in the wall paintings, and even in the miniature paintings of later periods and schools such as Mughal paintings, Rajasthānī paintings and Kangra paintings.

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# Relations of The Bombay Government with the Courts of Poona and Satara 1720-1742 \*

BY

#### ANTHONY D'COSTA

Introduction

It is proposed here to deal with the relations of the English with the Central Maratha authorities in the years 1720–1742, because of the peculiar interest attaching to this period. For it saw the rise of the Peshwā to the position of real and hereditary head of the Maratha State, while the Chatrapati at Satara was reduced to the position of a nominal sovereign. The period also saw the Maratha State transformed from a kingdom into a confederacy, along the lines envisaged by Bāļājī Viśvanāth. Both these changes are reflected in the Anglo-Maratha relations of these years.

The English on their side, we find, were largely commercial in outlook. They were prepared to maintain only such establishments as could be financed out of the profits of the trade of the place. But at the same time, once they had secured permission from an Indian ruler to set up a trading establishment in a profitable place, they regarded it as a point of national honour not to allow themselves to be deprived of it. In addition, the Company's servants were inspired by the idea that they were engaged in a national enterprise. Thus the English, though they were here as merchants were not lacking in political outlook.

The Bombay Government did not have many dealings with the central Maratha power till 1737, when the forces of Bājīrāo I occupied Salsette Island. But after that there was frequent contact, and though there were friendly diplomatic exchanges between the two, relations were on the whole uneasy. The British began to acquire that knowledge of the internal conditions in the Maratha State, of which they would make full use when as a result of Plassey and Buxar their resources would be increased,

<sup>\*</sup>This paper was presented at the Maratha History Seminar held at Deccan Poona, in 1969.

their political outlook intensified, and their chance to dominate India rendered an immediate possibility, especially after the Maratha defeat at Panipat. It is because the Marathas are said to have come closest to thwarting the English that their mutual relations in these early years are of special interest.

The source material has been drawn from the Diaries of the Bombay Government. Some of it was published by G. W. Forrest, but not so as to give an adequate picture of what happened. The Diaries are a particularly revealing source, for they contain the discussions of the Bombay Council in which the members voiced their real feelings. Hence the Diaries can be a valuable check on the diplomatic correspondence, which not seldom hides the real intentions behind courteous professions of friendship.

### Till the Maratha Occupation of Salsette

As already indicated, till 1736 there are few references to the Maratha central power in the transactions of the Bombay Government. It should however be noted that our sources are incomplete, for the Diaries of some of the years are missing.

At the outset we find the English distrustful of Sāhū, and believing that he was still the effective head of the Maratha State. Thus the Governor of Bombay, Robert Cowan, wrote on 28 (17) July 1733: "..... and if we are not greatly misinformed, the Savajee Rajahs his predecessors have had fleets of forty sails of vessels formerly, and if the present Sou Rajah should emulate his ancestors in his naval forces, as of late years he has outdone them at land, he will prove too formidable for us to withstand." And Cowan went on to express his firm conviction, "if we do not make a considerable addition to our marine force, we must not pretend to trade in these seas but as tributaries to the common enemy [i.e. the Marathas, enemies of the English and the Mughals], as we do not believe any peace with them can last longer than it suits with their interest to keep it." However, the final attitude of the

1.. Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers, preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Mazatha Series, Bombay, 1885.

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<sup>2.</sup> Diaries (Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, 1885.

For the chronology of the Diaries, cf. Indica (Organ of the Heras Institute, St Xavier's College, Bombay), 4.44.

British, as expressed in their dealings with Angre but equally applicable to the central power, was dominated by commercial considerations. For they would have preferred to come to an understanding with the Marathas and secure freedom of trade, as being the 'more advantageous and less expensive policy's

The Marathas on their side permitted the Vanzāras, a caste of traders from the Ghat country, to visit Bombay. In 1735 the Vanzāras complained to the English that their Bombay brokers levied duties on their goods in the Thana Creek, as a contribution towards the Portuguese defence. The Bombay Government fined the brokers and forbade them to continue the practice.4

### At the Fall of Salsette

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> In the beginning of April 1737 Bājīrāo's troops, commanded by his brother Chimṇājī Āpā, invaded the island of Salsette. The Portuguese abandoned Thana, but still held out in their forts of Mahad Island and Bandra hill, and in the Jesuit church on Mahim Creek, on the site now occupied by the slaughter house. English immediately felt threatened and put themselves in a posture of defence. It was decided to place patrol boats on Mahim Creek and to strengthen a section of the town wall.<sup>5</sup> All the same, the British kept characteristically cool and went on with their usual business. On 11 April the Council met to discuss the untrustworthiness of their Surat brokers in matters of trade and resolved to dismiss them.6

> Some of the English felt that it would be best to give a free hand to the Marathas to clear Salsette of the Portuguese and to negotiate secretly with them to transfer it to the English. The government rejected the suggestion as perfidious, and instead informed Chimnājī that they were willing to mediate between him

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., 6.77 f.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., 8.252-54.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid., 10A.133f, 164f. For a presentation of the history of the Maratha invasion of Salsette according to Portuguese and Maratha sources, cf. P. Piscust P. Pissurlencar, Portugueses e Maratas, IV, como se perdeu Baçaim (Nova Goa 1932) Goa 1932) 15-20; Portugez-Marāṭhē Sambandha (Marathi) (Luso-Marāṭhā Relations) by the same author (Poona 1967) 154f.

<sup>6.</sup> Diaries 10A, 137-47.

and the Portuguese. Chimnājī accepted the offer, but the English delayed and waited to see whether the Portuguese would receive reinforcements. The Marathas on their side stopped the export of rice from Salsette to Bombay and detained boats belonging to English subjects, which only served to make the Bombay Government more cautious.<sup>7</sup>

The English would have therefore willingly assisted the Portuguese to dislodge the Marathas from Thana, or even ventured to do so by themselves. But the Marathas had at Thana a force of two or three thousand and were able to reinforce it at short notice, while the English could spare only 440 men for the venture, and the Portuguese 1200. The idea was therefore abandoned.8

On 1 June the English decided to pursue the negotiations. And because it "might look like too great a condescension" if they were to send an Englishman, and because they could not be sure that he would not be detained it was decided to send an Indian by name Rāmjī Prabhu, "a person of capacity and experience." Chimṇājī showed himself ready to return the boats and allow the English free use of the rivers, provided in return they would shield him from Portuguese counter-attacks. To this the English would not agree. Finally Chimṇājī returned the vessels and conceded freedom of the rivers, but advised the English not to sail the rivers of Thana and Panvel for the duration of the war. He declared his intention of clearing the land of the Portuguese, but expressed his desire to "preserve a strict friendship with the English."

Having failed to stem the Maratha tide militarily, the Portuguese turned to diplomacy and asked the English to mediate. The English made overtures to Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar, the commander of Salsette, and the representatives of the two sides met in Bombay under English eyes. The Maratha envoy however made it clear that he was acting only on behalf of Khaṇḍojī without Chiṇṇāji's sanction, and if any agreement was reached it would not be binding on the commanders posted around Bassein. The Portuguese representative replied that he had powers only to conclude a

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<sup>7.</sup> Ibid., 10A, 178-82.

<sup>8.</sup> *Ibid.*, 10A, 286-89, 312-18. 9. *Ibid.*, 10A, 218-20, 227f, 235.

complete treaty. The meeting thereupon broke up, and negotiations were not to be resumed till after the fall of Bassein. 10

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A year and a half passed before the Marathas pressed the attack against the fortifications of Mahad Island and Bandra and against Bassein. In this interval the English did not take Chimnaji's profession of friendship at its face value, and forbade the export of strategic material such as lead, iron and steel, to the Maratha country.11 The Portuguese repeatedly requested the English for help. At the time of the invasion of Salsette, the Bombay Government had sent a small detachment to the assistance of the Jesuit church across Mahim Creek. When early in 1739 the Marathas commenced their final drive, the English supplied quantities of small ammunition to Bassein, as otherwise their conduct "would not only afford matter of just reproach for deserting an European nation allied and in friendship with our sovereign, but be of the worst consequence to the interest and welfare of the Island." Three weeks before the fall of Bassein the members of the Bombay Council responded to a desperate plea for help by contributing Rs. 15,000 in their personal capacity, because the Home Government had forbidden loans to other powers. But as often as the Portuguese proposed that the English should join them in counterattacking, they firmly declined.12

Meanwhile, in retaliation against the policy forbidding the export of strategic material and against the help provided by the English to the Portuguese, the Marathas refused to deliver timber belonging to the Bombay Government which had fallen into their hands when they captured Thana. It addition, a rumour reached Bombay that Śāhū contemplated an attack on the island. In these circumstances, every time a report reached Bombay that the Maratha forces in Salsette had been reinforced, the English felt themselves threatened. Accordingly, it was decided to strengthen the defences by constructing works at Dharavi on Mahim Creek, at Worli, and on the north side of Bombay Fort. 13

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., 11A.212; 11B.335, 357f. 11. Ibid., IIA.276; 12C.675f.

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., 10B.321f, 526; 11A.2f, 93-95; 11B.448-51; 12A.69f, 117-22, 215,

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid., 10b.342, 364-67, 439.

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When the Marathas renewed their attack against the Portuguese, Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar advised the English to withdraw their detachment from Bandra. The English replied that treaty obligations required them to afford that much help to the Portuguese, but that for the rest they wished to live as good neighbours with the Marathas. But their real reasons, as revealed in the Council's discussions, were that they could not trust the Marathas to be peaceful neighbours and that their withdrawal would discourage the Portuguese. 14

All the same the outlook was bleak, and the English wanted to destroy a battery at the foot of Bandra hill to prevent it from falling into Maratha hands. Curiously enough the Marathas too were urging them to destroy the fortifications, because it would leave the Portuguese defenceless. The Governor of Bassein at first opposed the plan, but finally agreed. Nevertheless the English awaited further developments. On 20 February, 1739, the Portuguese were obliged to abandon Mahad Island and the situation of Bandra became hopeless. Accordingly, on April 5 "the demolition of Bundorah took place, it being blown up with the consent of all parties, ours, the Portugueze, and the Morattas, which last had often pressed the President by letters and messages to have it effected." 15

### The Fall of Bassein and After

On 17 May, 1739, news reached Bombay that the end had come. The entry in the Bombay Diaries for that date reads, "received the melancholy news of the capitulation being signed the 5th [i.e. the 16th] inst. for the surrender of Bassein within one week." The Marathas had breached the walls at two points and felt encouraged to launch an assault, which they "attempted with the utmost fury and resolution, being repulsed several times, and as often returned to the attack, and at length gained lodgment on the bastions." The small band of defenders still held out for two days before hoisting the white flag. Chimnājī had chivalrously allowed them to evacuate "on most honourable conditions."

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<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., 12A.44f.

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid., 12A.78-81, 101, 180f. Cf. Portugez-Marathe Sambandha 162.
16. For the chronology of fn 2

<sup>17.</sup> Diaries 12A.277-79. Cf. Portugez-Marāthe Sambandha 164.

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A month earlier the Bombay Government had received instructions from home to cultivate Maratha friendship and to avoid "all just occasions of rupture or enmity." Thereupon, foreseeing the end, they had frankly admitted to themselves that their actions had belied their professions of neutrality, for they had helped the Portuguese and had placed an embargo on the export of strategic material to the Marathas. On 27 April, 1739, the British had decided to conciliate the Marathas by supplying them with whatever materials they might request, if they were able to procure the same from other sources, and in November following, they proclaimed to the merchants that "the free export of these goods, and in particular iron, lead, and steel, will be permitted to the Gaut countries."18

Two days before the fall of Bassein the English had conceived the plan of sending an embassy to Śāhū, whom they believed to be the effective head of the Maratha State. Immediately on receipt of the news of the capture of Bassein, they implemented the plan and despatched Capt. William Gordon, "as he understands the country language tolerably well, and is acquainted with the humour and manner of these people." A certain Bikājī Pant, who had previously served as the Siddi's envoy to the Maratha court, was deputed to assist Gordon. The envoy was instructed to tell Sahu that the English desired to be friends and hoped that trade between Bombay and the neighbouring Maratha territory would increase, so that "your subjects, inhabitants of them, will become more rich and opulent than those of your other provinces." But his principal concern was to find out the intentions of Sāhū's advisers, which was not thought to be difficult, "as they observe little or no secrecy in them." He was also asked to emphasise that "our nation has never meddled with their religion or had any views of conquest or extending their dominion in these parts, where trade is our sole business and end of residence."19

While Gordon was with Sāhū the government opened negotiations with Chimnājī Āppā, and at the latter's own request sent to in Capt. James Inchbird, who is described as being "well versed in the latest and the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are latest are latest as being "well versed in the latest are in the nature, customs, and manners of the gentoo governments."20

<sup>18.</sup> Diaries 12A.213f; 12C.675f.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid., 12A.274-76, 279f, 284f, 291-94. 20. Ibid., 12B.350-52, 356-60.

From Chimnājī's camp at Bassein, Inchbird reported that the Marathas proposed exacting terms: the English had to sell them arms and ammunition, and detain ships which did not happen to carry the Maratha pass. Chimnaji also demanded that the English should not send an embassy to Sāhū without first informing him, thus impressing upon them the fact that his family was effectively at the helm of Maratha affairs.<sup>21</sup> Chimṇājī further drove this lesson home by drawing up the draft of the proposed treaty in the name of 'Bageraw Punditt Pradan'. It was dated 1140 [A.H.], and the stipulations were: the English were to sell him military stores, they were to allow free flow of trade between Bombay and the Maratha territory; they should not help the enemies of the Marathas; and they should protect Maratha ships in the whole of Bombay harbour. As the Bombay Government was in no position to dictate, it subscribed to all the terms except the last, because it would have obliged them to oppose Portuguese ships even if they should engage Maratha vessels beyond English waters. Chimnaji unilaterally restored the rejected clause, and ratified and returned the treaty in August. The English, however, remained convinced that they were not bound by the objectionable clause 22

Meanwhile Gordon had reached Satara on 3 June, where his party "rested at a place provided for accommodating travellers, where the head of the jogees named Vetaw Naique courteously treated us on being told we were English." But Śāhū was away besieging Miraj. Thither Gordon repaired, and the description he has left us of how he was received throws light on Śāhū's simplicity. He says that he found Śāhū "in a mean place he had erected with his own hands, for his present convenience during the siege. He was very gracious to us and seemed delighted with the birds that made a part of our present, expressing a willingness to do us good offices." But Gordon "soon understood that Badgeraw is 50 powerful that he makes small account of the Rajah." At the time of leave-taking, Sāhū requested from Bombay gifts which were in keeping with his simplicity: "eight guinea hens, two pair[5] of turkeys, some Bussorah pi[d]geons, a little mummy, and any kind of curious birds."23

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<sup>21.</sup> Ibid., 12B.372-99.

<sup>22.</sup> Ibid., 12B.445-50, 456-66, 517.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid., 12B.480f, 482f, 485.

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Gordon found that Śāhū's Pratinidhi, Śrīpatrao, also bore on the whole a friendly disposition towards the English and "allowed we've a good sort of people, and permitted the exercise of all religions." All the while Bājīrāo was keeping a watchful eye on the English move, and had sent one of his men to find out what passed between Śāhū and the English. Through him Śāhū advised the Peshwā that "by keeping on good terms with the English he would be greater gainer than by breaking with them." Śāhū also issued the following directive to the Peshwā, of which the English were given a copy: "The procedure and policy of the English is of merchants, and they have always carried it with sincerity to our nation." Bājīrāo, too, thereupon wrote to the English that he desired trade between them and his people to flourish.<sup>24</sup>

For the next two years the English, while continuing to be cautious, tried to be outwardly friendly. The Marathas on their side reciprocated this show of friendship, but there were also occasions of friction.

The Bombay Government, in the first place, instructed their naval commander, "the Morattas being in friendship with us, we must enjoin you not to molest their vessels." Moreover, as a result of the re-opening of trade facilities, the Vanzāras reappeared in Bombay. They are described as "properly the inhabitants of the Gaut country, who resort hither in the fair season bringing with them considerable sums of money, with which they purchase large quantities of goods and then return upcountry." For their encouragement it was judged advisable to exempt them from the curfew restrictions in force at the time in Bombay Fort. The British also secured cattle for slaughter from the Peshwā's territory, though the Maratha guards had to be bribed heavily to induce them to connive at it. 25

As a further show of friendship the English complied with the requirements of diplomatic etiquette. Thus an entry in the Diaries under the date 19(8) May, 1740, reads: "Received the news of Badieerow's sudden death upcountry, upon which the President who is his successor, and to Chimnajee brother to the deceased

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>. Ibid., 12B.467-69. 481f. <sup>25</sup>. Ibid., 12B.490; 13C.541; 15A.71-73.

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now encamped before Colabbo."26 A wedding or a birth in the Peshwa's family also served as occasion for similar signs of friendship. Thus at the end of February 1940, the Court of Poona informed Bombay that Chimnājī Āppā's son was going to be married, and hinted that "on such occasions it was customary to send a person with a compliment, accompanied with a present." The Bombay Government accordingly got ready fireworks and gold ornaments, "as such things duly timed may have a good effect in establishing and improving such a good correspondence with those people as may, when once fixed, turn to advantage." And an entry under the date 24(13) August, 1742, reads: "And [as] by the custom of the Morattas a present is generally made on the birth of a child; it is agreed that we take this occasion of sending a gold chain and shawl, to the value of one hundred rupees, to be presented to the newborn grandson of the late Chimnajee."27

Similar courtesy was shown to other officers, even subordinate ones, and to persons of influence, in order to win their goodwill. Thus when Gordon was at Śāhū's court, he was advised to pay his respects to "Eswant Raw Madea (a great sardar and principal favourite), Jevajee Candy Raw (Chief Writer, and Crusnea Annand Raw (Secretary)." Gordon took the advice and presented them with pieces of cloth.<sup>28</sup> In 1741 the Bombay Government saw to it that they were represented at the wedding of Sankrājī Pant, the Governor of Bassein, "it being usual for those in friendship to perform such marks of civility on those occasions." They presented him with 'one piece of pattola, one piece of chundey, and one piece of saddy', costing altogether Rs. 53. In February the following year, Sankrājī Pant intimated that his niece was due to be married. The English decided to present a gold chain and shawls, costing Rs. 280, as it was felt that "should we omit this common compliment they would immediately put their own construction upon [it], and probably not the most favourable one to

<sup>26.</sup> Ibid., 13B.298.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid., 13A.128, 132; 15B.427.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid., 12B.484. Re. Yaśvantrão Mahadev, cf. A History of the Maratha onle. C. A. Kingaid. B. T. T. Washadev, cf. A History of the Maratha People, C. A. Kincaid—D. B. Parasnis, II (Oxford 1922) 240f.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid., 14B.361; 15A.92f.—Re. Sankrāiī Pant, cf Portugez-Marāthe Sambandha 160, 236.

Another example of such politico-social relations is the letter received by the Governor of Bombay from Chimnaji's son, in August 1742, "acquainting him a principal officer laboured under some disorder, and therefore desired one of our doctors might be sent to his assistance." The English thereupon despatched a doctor to Satara at their own cost, and when he had to return, replaced him by another, Trotter by name. At the beginning of December, 1742, Trotter was still at Satara, as the person for whose sake their services had been sought was not yet fully recovered, "and another person of distinction in the Sou Rajah's court had desired Mr. Trotter's attendance." Trotter asked for some medicines and the government complied, convinced that "such marks of favour may be of advantage on occasion."30

To these signs of friendship the Marathas responded favourably several times. When Chimnajī received the Governor's condolences on the death of Bājīrāo, he assured the messenger of "his friendship and [his] actions so convincing of his sincerity that he did not doubt that he should acquire a greater affection for him then they had for his brother." In October, 1741, Peshwa Bālājī Bājīrāo and Chimnājī's son wrote to the British, referring to the treaty of 1739 and assuring them that "they will be always mindful to preserve punctually the articles of peace settled with the'r fathers."31

The following was another example of Maratha goodwill that same year. There was a custom "for several years passed that when a messenger comes from the governments round us, he is generally attended with a number of armed sepoys." This was now thought to be undesirable for reasons of security. The matter was represented to the Marathas and for the moment they agreed to abide by English wishes "so far that now, on any occasion of sending hither, the person came without any retinue."32

A remarkable instance of Maratha trust was their acceptance of the English as mediators in their negotiations with the Portuguese in connection with the treaty of Poona in 1740. Obliged

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<sup>30</sup> Diaries 15B.426f; 15C.600f. 31. lbid., 13B.334f; 14C.590.

<sup>32.</sup> Ibid., 14A.65.

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finally to come to terms with the Marathas, the Viceroy offered to hand over Chaul to Sāhū and requested the Governor of Bombay to negotiate on his behalf. The Governor was by now better aware than the Portuguese regarding who was the real power in the Maratha State. Accordingly, while agreeing to mediate, he advised the Viceroy to direct his offer to the Peshwa. The Marathas on their side accepted the English as intermediaries. The latter performed their task well by persuading each side to moderate its demands. They told the Portuguese that the Marathas were strong to attack Goa and this was a unique opportunity of coming to an agreement with them. To the Marathas they said that they stood to lose if the Portuguese were to hand over Chaul to someone else, perhaps to the English themselves. The Portuguese proposed to hand over Chaul in the first instance to the English; only after the Marathas had complied with certain of the treaty stipulations namely transference of the fort to them. To this also the Marathas agreed. Things went well and on 20 December, 1740, the English left Chaul, "having delivered that place to the persons appointed by the Morattas, to the entire satisfaction of both parties."33

However, the relations were not uniformly smooth. Six months after the fall of Bassein, reports reached the English that the Marathas were collecting troops across Thana Creek with a view to making an attempt on Bombay. The reports were never confirmed, but the Governor decided that it was best to be prepared for any eventuality. About the same time the Marathas seized 40 fishing boats with 84 men, of those who had taken refuge in Bombay when Salsette was invaded, and the English had to content themselves with lodging an oral protest. In the beginning of November, 1740, they detained four vessels belonging to Bombay. The Government protested to the Maratha naval commander at Arnal, but to no purpose. They then decided to provide a convoy for their ships between Bombay and Surat, the part "most infested by the Moratta cruisers." The boats were eventually restored, but it was found that "they had taken out

<sup>33.</sup> For the full English documentation on this subject, cf. 'The Rendition of Chaul', Indica 5.52-63.

<sup>34.</sup> Diaries 12C.840f; 13C.545f. 35. Ibid., 12C.840f; 13C.545f.

of them a parcel of dungaree36 and oil, which they had however promised to pay the amount of."37

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In June, 1741, the Governor of Salsette, Khandojī Mānkar, interfered with British justice in peculiar circumstances. A certain Śańkarabhat disputed the title of 'Gummaby', a widow, to certain lands. The Mayor's Court decided in favour of the plaintiff "pursuant to the rules observed by the cast[e] of Braminees, who we understand were consulted on the occasion." Thereupon 'Gummaby' crossed over to Salsette and placed her case before Khandojī, who decided partly in her favour. Khandojī next detained śankarabhat when he "went that way on his proper business," and obliged him to sign an undertaking, assigning half the property to the widow. Khandojī at the same time reclaimed the old privilege entitling a Maratha envoy to enter Bombay with an armed retinue, and threatened to seize the Bombay boats which then happened to be at Kalyan. The British felt that "the submitting to so gross an imposition will not only bring on us great discredit, but in the end prove an introduction to their still greater demonds and insults, when they find so tame an acquiescence."

Capt. Inchbird was therefore sent to discuss matters with Khandoji. The latter at first maintained that a wrong had been done to the widow and he had purely been moved by compassion for her. But two of his own officers sided with Inchbird, so that he finally acknowledged his mistake and gave his word not to interfere again in such matters. On the privilege of an armed retinue for Maratha envoys, a compromise was reached, it being agreed "that such officers should have no more than five sepoys with them, and to carry the usual arms." In spite of this, however, Inchbird was not favourably impressed and gave it as his opinion that "this place ought never to rely on their friendship, but exercise all possible caution in guarding against those treacherous maxims they have so long persisted in."38

In 1741 there were rumours that the Portuguese were assembling forces to regain their lost territory. The Marathas suspected

<sup>36.</sup> A kind of coarse cotton cloth. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases and of kindred terms, by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell (London 1886) art, 'dungaree'.

<sup>37.</sup> Diaries 13C.576. 38. Ibid., 14B.311f, 324-28, 357-60.

that the English were in league with them and interferred with their land post, hoping to get at the truth. On 25 (14) August that year, the Governor informed his Council "that the Morattas lately [had been] opening all letters which come by pattamars. with a view of discovering an inteligence of the Portugueze designs. proceeding from a jealousy they have conceived of our intentions. on the Portugueze coming with an armament to the northward." It was accordingly decided to send "a letter and a proper present to Bajerow's and Chimnajee's sons with assurances of our preserving an exact neutrality between them and the Portuguese."40

We have already noticed cases of interference with English shipping. One such had a humorous ending. In November, 1742, fifteen Maratha ships stopped an English naval vessel at the Surat bar, and four men went on board to inspect the cargo. Finding "nothing in but ballast, [they] contented themselves with ordering a chest to be opened imagining it treasure, but proving wine they begged six bottles and retired."41

We may now conclude by taking note of the information which the Bombay Government gathered in this period about the internal condition of the Marathas. As we have already seen, about the time of the fall of Bassein, the English were made aware that the Psehwā was now the real head of the Maratha State. What Gordon observed at Śāhū's court only confirmed this, for he concluded that Bāiīrāo's authority was "even such that in the absence of the Rajah and contrary to the advice of the seven principal counsellors. he can enforce a complete obedience to his sole mandates." The English further learned that there was a party at Satara opposed to the Peswā and believing that he wanted "to set up an independent state, and shake off the Sou Rajah's obedience." Gordon was specifically instructed to find out who composed this party and how much they could be relied on, and "to instil a jealousy of his growing power and ambition,"42

Among the indications which Gordon got of Bājīrāo's independence we may note the following. Just then Bājīrāo's general

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<sup>39.</sup> i.e., land post-cf. Yule-Burnell, art, 'Pattamar' 40. Diaries 14B.434, 450f, 460.

<sup>41.</sup> Ibid., 15C.584.

<sup>42.</sup> Ibid., 12B.29-194, 380f, 489.

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Vyankatrāo, returned from his expedition against Goa and passed through Miraj. Śāhū went out to meet him, but the general deflected his course, "alle (d) ging he owed no sort of subjection to the Rajah." He was, however, finally prevailed upon to apologise. Gordon also learned that Śāhū did not fully support Bājīrāo's policies. He had "approved of the seizing of Tannah, and of the island of Salsette, but the attack on Bassein was undertaken without his consent, not being desirous of the total expulsion of the Portugueze." In fact, just at this time a report reached Miraj that Nādir Shāh contemplated marching into the Deccan, and Śāhū openly burst out against Bājīrāo, "Will Bassaim and all our new acquisitions make amends for twenty thousand brave men lost there?" 43

Gordon also thought he had evidence of corruption and treachery within Sāhū's court. On arriving at Miraj he was received by the Pratinidhi, Śrīpatrāo, before he could be admitted to Śāhū's presence, only to find that "it was ill taken that we first saw Seerpaute Raw, a man famous for the love of money." A few days later it was the talk of the camp that "Seerpaute Raw was the third time detected of supplying the besieged with ammunition." The English also became aware that certain feminine influences dominated the Court. For Gordon reported, "As we could not see Viruboy, a woman of consequence, we sent her letters and present. She gave a civil profession in return."44

Chimṇājī's death in December, 1740, appears to have been the signal for divisions among the Peshwā's own officers. Inchbird got an inkling of this when he visited Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar in connection with the case of 'Gummaby'. "I plainly discovered," he reported, "that since Chimnajee Oppah's death, the officers are fallen into animosities. Mancarr assumes a superior power to what he had before and will not entirely regard what orders are sent him from Punah, pretending that he shall own no more than one Master (Nanna)."45

At the same time Inchbird became aware that he could count on friends in the Maratha camp. For when Khandoji tried to justify

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid., 12B.483f, 485, 488. Re. Vyankatrāo's Goa campaign, cf. Kincaid-

<sup>44.</sup> Diaries 14B.482f, 484. Re. Virubai, cf. Kincaid-Parasnis 122, 150. 45. Ibid., 14B.359.

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his interference in the widow's case, Inchbird objected, "and being assisted by Gungadar Punt, an officer of importance, and one Ramajee Punt entrusted with the fort, who was particularly active and bold in declaring his disapproval of Mancarr's conduct, the latter was at last brought to own his error." Some understanding seems to have been reached on this occasion between Inchbird and a Maratha officer. For when he again anchored at Thana a couple of months later, being sent to protest against interference with the English post, he told his interpreter to go ashore. Here is what followed: "As he passed the door of an officer of respect, he was called in (being known and being enjoined secrecy). He told him he had forgot his promise to me, and let him know what passed when Condajee Manchur, Sancrajee Punt, and the Duan, were met." The information suplied was that Sankrajī had proposed attacking Bombay, but the Khandojī and the 'Duan' had objected, saying that "as Bassein had cost them some years in taking, they would find Bombay a(s) much more difficult task, and if one was stone the other would certainly prove iron."46 This is interesting evidence of how the Maratha officers admitted that the conquest of Bassein had not been easy. To the English, moreover, the information meant that the Marathas had conceived respect for their arms.

The English also came to know that the Maratha central power exercised no effective control over the other chiefs and that it was not unusual for them to be at variance among themselves. As early as 1734, the English learned that the Peshwa was at variance with the Gāikwāds, who had entrenched themselves in Gujarat. Later they saw the house of Angre divided against itself, with Manaji established at Colaba and seeking their help against his brother Sāmbhājī. The Peshwā too wanted to curb Sāmbhājī's power and showed himself willing to accept English cooperation for the purpose. The very house of Sivājī was divided, one branch being established at Satara in the person of Sāhū, and another at Kolhapur. In 1742, the English were the recipients of a proposal from Sāmbhājī of Kolhapur inviting them to join him against Sāmbhājī

Nevertheless, the information which the English had of the Peshwa's power was such as to make them cautious not to provoke

<sup>46.</sup> Ibid., 14B.357-60; 14C.527f.

<sup>47. •</sup> Ibid., 7A.99f; 12C.716; 13A.209-12; 13B.237, 305f; 15B.381f.

his hostility. On returning from his visit to Sāhū, speaking of Poona, Gordon reported: "That place seems well built and abounds with people, and is the chief residence of Bajerow, who has a great extent of country, to appearance more fertile and valuable than any other I had passed through. I visited the found (e) ry, where I saw many cohorn and bomb-shells, said to have been cast there, and a form of a thirteen-inch mortar. I was told they make such with great ease, and have learned the art of running iron for making shot. Bagerow (is said) to give great encouragement to weavers for fabricating such things as are useful to the natives, and whereof great quantities are imported to Bombay and other parts. His territories are well peopled; and the poorer sort, in the farming way, are rendered easy in their rents, which causes his extent of dominion to be in a very flourishing condition, more so than any other in possession of the Morattas." Gordon estimated that Śāhū's fighting force numbered 26,000, and Bājīrāo's 40,000. Of Bājīrāo, in particular, he reported, "'Tis certain they can raise large armies with much facility. He is very secret in his purposes insomuch that the forces which attend him are often ignorant where he intends to lead them. They follow him with an implicit obedience."43

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## Pattern of British Administration in Garoland

BY

#### DR. JAYANTA BHUSAN BHATTACHARJEE,

The hills of the Garos, now a district of Meghalaya,\* are mostly rugged and precipitious into which innumerable rivers cut deep gorges as they descend down upon the plains in the north and the south. They are clothed with dense torests and bordered by patches of hollows and swamps. In the interior, the climate is temperate and even cold in winter, but in areas adjoining plains it is extremely enervating. No wonder, therefore, these are dumying grounds tor malarial fever; while kalazar, cholera and small-pox were hitherto endemic. The mountainous character of the country rendered inter-communication extremely difficult, and most of the rivers remains unnavigable even in summer when these are fed by heavy monsoon. Although bordered on three sides by the Bengal plains, due to the geographical reasons the Garos remained secluded till recent times.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the Garos were highly superstitious. They believe in their own tribal religion, called Songsarik. Mythologically, One Saljong was the supreme of the Gods under whom there were many other Gods and Goddesses, in charge of certain departments. The heavenly bodies like sun, moon, stars and spirits were believed to preside over the hills and were considered as the agents Saljong to manage earthly affairs. Cocks were sacrificed to the heavenly bodies, and fermented liquor, rice and flowers were offered to the spirits of the hills, rivers and forests. Along with deities, there was a galaxy of demons who also occupied

<sup>\*</sup>Situated between latitude 25'9° north and longitude 89°47' and 91°2' east, covering an area of 3152 sq. miles, and is surrounded by Goalpara on the north, Khasi hills on east, Mymensing (Bangladesh) on south and Bangpur (Bangladesh) and Goalapara on the west.

<sup>1.</sup> Reynolds, C. S., A narrative of our connections with Dussannee and Garrows, JASB, 1849, pp. 45-60.

prominent position in the faith of the people. Sorcery or witcheratt was also popular among them, and they were generally practiced to turn down the rivals or to harm others. Like the Nagas, they used to collect human heads for religious purposes and for social distinction. As they believed in the doctrine of rebirth and that all force of a man lies in his head which can be transferred, for funeral they invariably required skulls to be burnt along with the corpse so that the deceased would inherit intelligence in his next me. Incretore, they raided upon the adjacent plains or other villages in the hills and escaped with the heads of the victims. These were trophies of their expeditions and would preserve them on the roof of houses to command over others.<sup>3</sup>

Nakpante or beachelors' house, where the unmarried lads of the village, over twelfth year of age, would sleep together in the night, made them disciplined and imparted them training for success in war. Their chief weapons consisted of sword, shield bamboo-spear, hoe, dao, battle-axe, bows and arrows.4 For their defence, the Garos planned the villages to make them more advantageous for defence than for offensive. The approaches to the villages were generally through narrow lanes; while deep ditches and fences, of thorns defended them against any outside attack In addition, the Panjis or bamboo-spikes were studded on the exposed parts of almost every village to prevent the advance of the enemy. The dense jungle, heavy rainfall, and aridity of the mountain streams with the commencement of the rain and diseases caused by the unhealthy climate provided formidable defence to these hillmen against invaders. The Garos resorted mainly to surprise and ambuscades, and raided upon the plains generally in the evening and without exhibiting any symptom of preparation earlier. They would assemble in the jungle near the village in their entemplation to massacre and suddenly jump upon with wild sounds as signal to the party. Like the Nagas, they rolled

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Dalton, E. T., Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872, p. 60.
 Foreign Political Proceedings, 21 October, 1848, No. 23; 25 February, 1831, No. 39.

<sup>4.</sup> Hunter, W., A Statistical Account of Assam, London, 1879, Vol. II.

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### BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN GAROLAND

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The mountainous character of the country, linguistic variations and interclanish feuds prevented political unity and the growth of an established form of government amongst the Garos. But the Garo society was intensely democratic, and as such many of the functions of the state were performed by the society itself. It had some kin-groups known as mechong or clan which was an exogamous matrilineal descent group and acted as an unit in respect of determining ownership of property and rules governing exogamy. Mechong had smaller groups called mahari having some blood relationship among the members all of whom generally resided within a particular area. Mahari was jointly responsible for the conduct of any of its members. In cases of disputes with an alien, one expected support from his Mahari. When somebody was required to pay compensation, the members of mahari subscribed commonly to it and the amount of compensation, likewise, would be divided equally among the members. The members would sit together to decide all questions involving the mahari in general or some of its members. The disputes were also decided by the mahari according to local customs and usages. According to the traditional code of the Garos, all lands belonged to the mahari and it was the function of the mahari to distribute land among its members.

The mechongs, on the other hand, were grouped under a larger unit called chatchi and their members had common title, namely, Sangma, Marak and Momin. While exogamy was the function of mechong, Chatchi regulated the marriages. They obeyed the headman of the village known as Lakma, in some places Sardar. The office was hereditary, but the chief must be acceptable to the villagers. He exercised much influence in social and economic matters. The religious functions were generally conducted by the Lakma and certain disputes arising within the village were decided

<sup>5.</sup> Payfair, A., The Garos, London, 1893, pp. 76-7; Hamilton, F., An Account of Assam, Gauhati, 1840, p. 89.

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with the help of a *Panchayat*, consisting of all members of the village, headed by the *Lakma*.6

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Thus in the interior of the hills, the Garo clans were independent of one another or of any out-side control; but those in the border areas were under nominal control of the Zamindars of Karaibari, Kalumalupara, Mechpara and Hubraghat on the north and Sherpur and Susung in the South. These Zamindars had passed a long course of ancestry in constant intercourse with the hillmen bordering upon their estates, and many of them were even allied to these tribes either by birth or marriage. The influence which their ties gave the chiefs over their 'savage' neighbours was a powerful means of restraining them from erruption. But the interest of the Zamindars was mainly economic. They exercised only a nominal control over these hillmen and were in the habit of collecting from them certain duties in kind on all articles of produce which they might bring for sale to the markets established by the Zamindars in the low land. With every load of cotton brought to the market, a small bundle had to be carried for the Zamindar. The latter also derived considerable profit from advancing money and goods to the Garos for the cultivation of cotton, thus securing to themselves an additional privilege of pre-emption. All these actuated the Zamindars to maintain peace in the frontier and to suppress any incursion on the part of these tribes not unoften attended with much excesses.7

Mughal Policy

The Mughal Government of Bengal had rightly realised the nature of the Garos vis-a-vis the status of the Zamindars, also known as Rajas. They, therefore, did not make any serious attempt to bring the Garos under direct control. The geographical condition rendered it difficult for the Mughal cavalry to penetrate into the hills, the clamatic condition and the rude social habit of the people prevented their intercourse with the neighbouring territories, while their predatory raids upon the plains compelled the Mughals to pursue a policy of non-intervention towards the Zamindars and let

6. Playfair, A., Op. cit., pp. 10-26.

<sup>7.</sup> Elliot, J., Observations on the inhabitants of Garrow Hills made during a public deputation in 1787-1788, Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. pp. 33-6.

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### BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN GAROLAND

them remain virtually independent. They were only required to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal Government and to pay the Foujdar of Rangamati a small annual tribute; a certain number of elephants or a small quantity of aghur wood to support certain garrisons. The internal management was left entirely to the hereditary chiefs who were rather treated as tributaries than as subjects. "This must have arisen" as Sisson writes "partly from the very wild and uncultivated state of country which would not have admitted of a regular assessment, and partly from an adherence to a favourite maxim of Mughal policy to conciliate good will of those who might possess local influence on distant frontiers".

These estates on the north-east frontier evidently served as buffer against tribal inroads into Bengal. As a matter of fact, the revenues of the estates were charged only nominally on the condition that the *Choudhuries* would oppose the Garos and other rude mountaineers from invading Bengal. They maintained considerable establishments of armed *Barkandazes* at important passes and were occasionally engaged in hostilities with the tribesmen.<sup>9</sup>

### Non-Regulation

The accession of the East India Company to the Dewani of Bengal did not bring any change in the affairs of the Garos. In view of the geographical and ethnological reasons, the English, like the Mughals, did not bring these areas under their direct control. Although for the collection of public revenue the Company appointed a Sezwal, in place of the Foujdar of Rangamati, the actual collection continued to be made by the Zamindars and their officials. The Zamindars were left undisturbed in internal management of their estates and were allowed to levy duties at the hats and markets. They were, of course, enrusted with the duty, as in Mughal times, of repelling the incursions of the Garos and for this they were allowed to retain establishments of armed Barkandazes. But before long, the Zamindars determined to push their boundaries

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<sup>8.</sup> Bengal Judicial Consultations, 25 April, 1815, No. 17.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid., also Mackenzie, A., History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes on the North-East Frontier of Bengal, Calcutta, 1884, p. 245.

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towards the hills by subjugating the independent clans, while their economic exactions from the tribesmen became excessive. In retaliation, the Garos carried on prolonged depredations in the plains thereby rendering the lives of the villagers extremely miserable. Inquiries conducted by the British officers revealed that these hills were resourceful and that the greediness of the Zamindars to exploit them resulted in the frontier troubles. 10

The anxiety to maintain peace and tranquility in the frontier was now added with a commercial motive. These hills were rich in oil and coal deposits, its timber, fibre and lac were lucrative. while Garo cotton was expected to be an additional source of supply to Manchester. Thomas Sisson, Joint Magistrate of Rangour. suggested the introduction of an internal administration among the Garos in line of Cleaveland's system in Bhagalpur Hills. 11 Ultimately, the thanas of Goalpara, Dhubri and Karaibari were separated from the district of Rangpur and constituted into a new jurisdiction, called North-East Rangpur, and placed under a Commissioner to deal with the Garos and their allied tribes in the frontier of Bengal. Regulation X of 1822 provided that normal Regulations of the government will not be in force within this area and empowered the Commissioner to act in his discretion to secure permanent peace and to redeem the tribesmen from their utter backwardness. This was the beginning of the Non-Regulated System which was subsequently practised in some other parts of the country; herein the powers of the Judge, Magistrate and Collector were vested in the Commissioner.12

David Scott, Magistrate of Rangpur, who was appointed as the first Commissioner of North-East Rangpur, divided the Garos into three classes, viz. dependent, tributary and independent. The areas long under the Zamindars were treated as Khas mahal; these were directly within the jurisdiction of the thanas and under the process of the court. They were assessed under normal rules of the government and the inhabitants were treated as ryots. Next to the Khas mahal were the Nazzarrana or tributary mahals. Scott confirmed

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12.</sup> Regulation X of 1822.

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the Sardars or headmen in their hereditary position, but they now came to be known as Laskars. These chiefs were held responsible for the maintenance of law and order and collection of public revenue or nazzarana in and from their respective jurisdiction. In return, they would receive reward-in cash and kind-from the government annually. Above the Laskars was placed a native officer, called Sarbarakar, to supervise the activities of the Laskars. 13 But the expansion of administration over a hostile tribe being too difficult a task, endeavours were made to make the people inclined to the British rule. Scott felt that attention should be given to "redeem the Garos from their utter backwardness", and this could be done, he felt, only by introducing education among the Garos and converting them into Christianity. Accordingly, in 1826 a school was established at Singimari, on Garo-Rangpur borders, and a Missionary, Valentine William Hurley, was appointed as the teacher.14

Scott could perhaps proceed further, but the outbreak of the Anglo-Burmese War in 1824 grealy impaired his work when he was appointed the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier and since then the Office of the Commissioner, N. E. Rangpur, had been merged with the Agent; the Garo problem was entrusted to the Principal Assistant, Goalpara. As the latter officer was supposed to perform multiple of functions in his district and could hardly spare sufficient time, a sub-Assistant was posted at Singimari to deal with the Garos. 15

But the independent Garos continued to create disturbances in the frontier through raid, plunder and murders. The Zamindars never withdrew their greedy eyes, and uplanders, joined by the Nazzarana Garos, retaliated in their traditional way. The punitive expeditions sent every year taxed the government heavily resulting in casualties of the sepoys. Ultimately, the British authorities determined to reduce the Garos to subjection. The offending villages were gradually conquered, and the system in vogue in Nazzarrana mahals extended to the resumed territories. In 1866,

Bengal Judicial Consultations, 16 February, 1816, Nos. 15-8.

<sup>14.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, 14 March, 1846, No. 48.

<sup>15.</sup> Judicial Proceedings, August, 1866, No. 63.

Captain Williamson, Assistant Commissioner at Singimari, shifted his headquarters to Tura, 16 and in 1869 Garo Hills were constituted into a district, with Williamson as the first Deputy Commissioner 17 while the subjugation of the last independent village was completed in 1872.18 In 1874, Garoland was transferred to the Chief Commissionership of Assam.

### Special System of Administration

Like other hill-districts of Assam, Garo Hills occupied a distinct status in the administrative map of British India. The administration of the district was vested in the Deputy Commissioner, under him were placed an Assistant Commissioner and an Extra Assistant Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner was exclusively in charge of the district in all matters, and at the head of all branches of administration. Apart from the fact that he was the Chief Civil authority, he was entrusted with wide judicial functions. He was independent of the Code of Criminal Procedure, but his powers assimilated to those of the Court of Sessions under that Code. He was expected to utilise the Penal Code as a guide in identifying and discriminating between particular crimes, but much was left to his discretion regarding punishment provided by the Code. He acted as a Court of Appeal in civil cases, and the judicial Commissioner of Assam exercised the powers of the High Court. The Deputy Commissioner was exclusively in charge of police administration, and in fiscal matters all drawing and disbursing powers were vested in him.

Like the Dalois in Jaintia Hills and Gaonburhas in Naga Hills, the Laskars were entrusted with police, revenue and general administration. They were held responsible for the collection of taxes and cesses and maintenance of order in their ilakas. The latter duty was confined to the repression of serious disturbances and assisting the village police when forcible resistance to their action was anticipated. They had to appear before the Deputy their crimi Panch perso cases. would or vi

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<sup>16.</sup> Ibid., December, 1866, No. 20; also March, 1867, No. 41.

<sup>17.</sup> Act XII of 1869.

<sup>18.</sup> Foreign Political Proceedings, January, 1873, No. 529; also October, 2. No. 392. 1872, No. 392.

Commissioner at intervals to apprise of the situation prevalent in their respective jurisdiction. They were also entrusted to try criminal and civil offences not of a heinous character. The Panchayats were constituted in every villages with the leading persons and headed by the Laskars to assist the latter in trial of The proceedings would be viva voce and without record. They would try all civil suits except where the persons of other tribes or villages were involved. Criminal offences of heinous character and the civil cases in which persons belonging to different villages or clans were involved were beyond the jurisdiction of the village authorities. Such cases were entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner who had to follow in his proceedings the spirit of the Criminal Procedure Code as far as practicable. He was to exercise the powers of a Magistrate as described in the Code, and also powers similar to those given by the Act XV of 1862 for the trial of cases not punishable with death. An appeal lay from his decision to the Commissioner of Assam in his Judicial capacity. For the trial of the cases punishable with death or more than seven years' imprisonment, the Deputy Commissioner exercised the powers of a Sessions Judge with the aid of Assessors. But no sentence of death was to be carried into effect till confirmed by the Commissioner. There could be no appeal from the decision of the village authorities, but the Assistant Commissioner had the power of calling for any case and trying it himself.

An armed Frontier Police Force with several outposts along the Garo hills' borders was responsible for preventing the Garos from encroaching upon the plains and maintaining oder in the border hats, while a regular police force, recruited from the various tribes in Goalpara, Cooch Behar and Rangpur, was under an Assistant Superintendent of Police. The Laskars or Zimmadars were held responsible, as stated already, for peace and tranquility within their respective ilakas, while the Deputy Commissioner was in police-charge of the district.

Evidently, the official establishment required a huge expenditure on the part of the government, but taxes collected were only nominal. Lands were never assessed, and the tribesmen paid a house tax of Re. 1/- per house: However, duties levied on hats, trade in cotton, timber, birds, canes, etc. as well as fees for licences for catching elephants made good the losses. In addition, timber

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Later Acts

The Act XXII of 1874, known as the Scheduled Districts Act, prescribed a simpler system of administration for the hill districts of Assam including Garo Hills. The ways of life led by the people in the tribal societies, their customs and traditions were left untouched by the Act. Several restrictions were imposed on the outsiders in political and economic intercourse with the tribes. This made the Garos, like other tribes, geographically secluded and socio-economically shut to their hills. Regulation II of 1880, known as Frontier Tract Regulation, empowered the Chief Commissioner of Assam to cancel the operation of any law in force in the frontier districts. The enactments relating to civil and criminal procedures, transfer of property, registration, court fees, stamps, etc. were excluded. However, in nineties of the last century Court Free Act, Stamp Act and Registration Act were extended to the civil station of Tura, like Shillong in Khasi Hills.<sup>20</sup>

By virtue of the authority conferred by the Section 6 of Act XXII of 1874, the Government of East Bengal and Assam, in 1910, formally prescribed the rules for the administration of Justice and Police in Garo Hills. The general administration of the district was vested in the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Commissioner of Assam, Deputy Commissioner of Garo Hills and his assistants, Mouzadars, Laskars, Lakmas and the Gaonburhas or such classes of officers as the Lt. Governor would from time to time appoint. The Police establishment was divided into Regular Police and Rural Police. The former class was subjected to the Act V of 1861 and Assam Military Police Regulation. The Rural Police consisted of Laskars, Sardars and Nakmas who were held responsible for the detection and prevention of crime and for the maintenance of peace in the The administration of Justice was entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants. The Laskars could dis-

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Garo Hills Administration Report, 1874; also Assam Report, 1896.

pose of cases involving theft not exceeding Rs. 5, injury to property not exceeding Rs. 50, injury to person not endangering life or limb, house trespass, affront of whatever kind, gambling and drunken or disorderly brawling. The suits beyond the scope of the Laskars and appeals from their decision were to be tried, or heard by the Deputy Commissioner. The latter was competent to try any case and to pass sentence of death, transportation or imprisonment upto maximum period awardable by Penal Code, of whipping and of fine upto any amount. The sentences of death and transportation, however, required confirmation of the Lt. Governor, and imprisonment of seven years and upwards of Commissioner. The High Court had no jurisdiction, and the Courts of the Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner were guided by the spirit, but not bound by the letters, of the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure.21

#### Conclusion

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Introduction of education and modern system of administration gave the Garos light of civilisation, and the hillmen gave up their horrible practices of hunting human heads and preserving skulls. The gradual development of the district in its various fields opened scope for employment to the Garos, and many of them, whose only occupation was hitherto agriculture, rushed to and accepted jobs in various capacities. Improved method of agriculture and developed means of communications increased their standard of living, and the facilities for trade and commerce added to their economic advancement. Nevertheless, the ulterior motive of the British authorities was mainly to protect their frontier villages from the raids and to exploit the economic reosurces of the hills. The former was aimed to attain by making the people pro-British through the Missionaries and the latter by isolating the drea politically, economically and socially through a series of excluding regulations. To convert the people, the government in its own initiative invited the western missions and patronized them by all possible means. Education was left entirely to the Missionaries than literacy. haries who were concerned more with proselytism than literacy.

<sup>21.</sup> Notification No. 746P, dated 24 September, 1910 of the Government Bengal and Assam.

The authorities were so much bent upon isolating the tribes that when education was first introduced Bengali was the medium of instruction and the Garo language was written in Bengali script, but at a later stage they went to the length of not only switching over from Bengali to English as medium, but also introducing Roman script for Garo. This widened the cultural gap between the people of the hills and the plains, and the Garos were cut-off till recent times from the main stream of Indian life.

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# Dalhousie and the Annexation of Oudh: A Reappraisal of Sir William Lee-Warner's Views

BY

#### PRASHANTO KUMAR CHATTERJEE

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It is generally agreed that the annexation of Oudh1 (1856) and the subsequent land-settlement contributed to the intensification of the Indian Revolt of 1857; indeed, no other conclusion is possible on a study of the details of the Oudh episode. Thus, on the score of expediency, the annexation of Oudh generally received the odium of British historians; while others joined in the condemnation on grounds of justice and humanity. It is unfortunate, however, that Dalhusie's2 role with respect to the annexation has to this day remained obscure; it has eluded the historian's attention ever since Sir William Lee-Warner had published his monumental two-volumed 'Life of the Marquess of Dalhousie' (1904) on the basis of the Dalhousie Papers. As a biographer and apologist, Lee-Warner failed in the task of a historian; and, with regard to other aspects of Dalhousie's administration too his efforts seemed designed more to rehabilitate the Governor-General in the eyes of posterity than to assess his policies objectively. The present article, based as it is on all available private and official sources, attempts to correct the perspective.

Lee-Warner's narrative<sup>3</sup> leaves the impression that in dealing with Oudh Dalhousie merely acted according to the behest of the home government (comprising the Court of Directors and the India

<sup>1.</sup> On 16 Aug. 1765 Oudh concluded a Treaty of firm union with the East India Company. In 1831 Bentinck was given leave to take Oudh. In 1847 Hardinge solemnly warned the Nawab of Oudh that unless the administration was reformed within 2 years, the British would assume the Government of Oudh.

<sup>2.</sup> Marquis of Dalhousie: President, Board of Trade, 1845; Governor-General of India, 1848-56.

<sup>3. &#</sup>x27;Life', etc., Vol. II, Chap. IX.

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Board), who saw no escape 'from the duty of interference'. However, a close scrutiny of the papers reveals that Dalhousie had had the initiative in the affair from beginning to end, and that his masters in London gave concurrence only after initial resistance.

With the expiry in 1849 of Hardinge's4 time-limit for setting the Oudh administration in order, Dalhousie threatened the Nawah of Oudh with dire consequences and was about to propose action when the 'plaguing' Burmese War broke out.5 After 'swalloming' Pegu, Dalhousie wished to make a 'mouthful' of Oudh6 & 7 and be sure of extended tenure to finish his 'handiwork'; otherwise the 'honour' would go to his successor and his 'reputation' suffer, Oudh was a 'splendid' country it would cost nothing to take it, and not much to keep it, would be a 'feather' in the 'cap' of any government which plucked it, and its annexation would be an act of 'true benevolence' towards the people. But Dalhousie would go at it only if allowed to make Oudh 'ours, out and out by a 'voluntary' Treaty with the Nawab of Oudh. To pluck that 'ripe cherry', Dalhousie wished to remove from the Oudh Residency Sleeman, a 'Protector' of native Powers and a 'sentimentalist', and put him into Council where he was certain of his supremacy. But before taking the plunge, he wanted to make sure whether the home government entertained similar views on the issue.8

'Particularly impressed' with the 'wretched' condition of Oudh, Chairman Ellice<sup>9</sup> would give Dalhousie full leave to go at it 'with all his heart'. <sup>10</sup> President Wood<sup>11</sup> entirely agreed with Dalhousie

- 4. Sir Henry Hardinge: Governor-General of India, 1844-7.
- 5. Dalhousie to Wood 18 Oct. 1853, DP (abbreviation for Dalhousie Papers) 62; to Ellice 5 Scpt. 1853, DP 68. The Dalhousie Papers are now preserved in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

6 & 7. James Graham to Wood 9 Oct. 1853, HP (abbreviation for Hickleton Papers. These were made available for my consultation at the City Library, York, by the Earl of Halifax), No. 70.

- 8. Dalhousie to Wood 18 Oct. 1853, DP 62; to Ellice 5 Feb., 5 Sept. 1853, DP 68.
- 9. Russell Ellice: Director of the E.I. Company, 1831-5, 1837-40, 1842-45, 1847-50, 1852-8; Chairman, 1853.
  - 10. Ellice to Dalhousie, 25 July, 24 Oct. 1853, DP 68.
- 11. Sir Charles Wood, Viscount Halifax: Liberal M.P. 1832-65; President, India Board, Dec. 1852—Feb. 1855; Secretary of State for India, 1859-66.

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regarding the desirability and mode of annexing Oudh but would ike first to settle Pegu comfortably and have a case beyond question for annexation. Otherwise they would appear to be 'too grasping' and the character of Indian Government suffer. 12 Dalhousie replied that an 'unexceptionable' case was made by British Treaty obligations, and Sleeman's disclosure of 'scandalous' disregard of those obligations, and the fact that obtaining Oudh would consolidate and not extend British territory.<sup>13</sup> Wood agreed it to be a very good deed for the people, but wished to perform the operation 'skilfully' so as not to offend British public opinion, bent on internal improvement in India. He reasoned that with Nagpur a 'sufficient catch' had been made 'in our net' and it would look better to have an 'interval'. Wood was unwilling to take Oudh at the same time lest the impression of 'grasping' should be strong.14

In face of Wood's firm views in the matter, Dalhousie made no move for sometime. 15 But the Oudh question was not kept in cold storage for long. Outram16 was appointed Resident in 1854, and his report on the state of Oudh (15 March 1855),17 showed that it had grown too bad to be endured and that the British could no longer rest inactive if they wished to observe good-faith towards the Oudh people. 18 Outram's Report formed the basis of Dalhousie's long Minute (18 June 1855), 19 in which he argued that the document, which confirmed Sleeman's report, proved the incorrigibility of the Oudh administration and their utter disregard of the obligation to

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<sup>12.</sup> Wood to Dalhousie 21 Oct., 8 Dec. 1853; Wood Papers (shortened henceforth to WP), Letter Book (briefly LB) III, IV.

<sup>13.</sup> Dalhousie to Wood 16 May, 3 Dec. 1853; DP. 62. By Art. III of the Treaty of 1801, the E.I. Company undertook to protect the Nawab of Oudh against internal and external attacks on the condition that he ensured good government to the people. W. H. Sleeman's "Diary of a Journey Through Oudh" (1851) painted a vivid picture of disorder and chronic misrule.

<sup>14.</sup> Wood to Dalhousie 24 Jan., 8 Feb., 8 Mar. 1854; WP.LB IV.

<sup>15.</sup> Dalhousie to Wood 18 Mar. 1854, DP 63.

<sup>16.</sup> Major-General James Outram: Chief Commissioner, Oudh, 1856.

<sup>17.</sup> For details see Parliamentary Papers (shortened henceforth to PP) 1856, Vol. XLV.

<sup>18.</sup> Dalhousie to Oliphant 18 May 1855, to Macnaghten 18 June 1855, DP 69; to Vernon Smith 18 May, 18 June 1855, DP 64.

<sup>19.</sup> For details, see PP ibid.

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ensure good government, while the Company had fulfilled their part of the Treaty. But out of regard to the Nawab's fidelity, Dalhousie rejected the extreme measure of annexation and wished to permanently assume the whole civil and military administration, retaining the royal title and position. The Nawab would be invited to accept the proposed Draft Treaty and he might refuse it only at the risk of facing anarchy on the removal of the Company's troops and Residency from Lucknow.

Transmitting this Minute, Dalhousie urged his masters in London to lose no time in authorising him to act, for the Nawab's deteriorating health might aggravate the evil 'a thousandfold' by necessitating the long minority of his young son, during which the Company could not interfere. He thought the case was clear enough for decision along his lines, which would place the Company honourably before the world.20 To put it through, Dalhousie was willing to stay upto 1 March 1856, commenced 'quiet' preparations for the work, and despaired at the delay in decision at home.21 When Smith,22 the Board's new President, informed him that his plan, which approximated to annexation, would excite hostility from some 'active' parties in England (referring to the Radicals), Dalhousie retorted that it would be more difficult to defend in Parliament a policy of inaction than one of interference in Oudh and expressed surprise at the President's doubts on 'this moment' being chosen for interference.23 The Governor-General lost all hope when he learned that an immediate decision could not be promised as the Oudh issue 'must' be brought before the Cabinet.24

<sup>20.</sup> Governor-General to Court of Directors, Foreign No. 4, 3 July 1855; Dalhousie to Wood 16 Dec. 1854, DP 63; to V. Smith and E. Macnaghten 28 June 1855, DP 64, 69.

<sup>21.</sup> Dalhousie to Smith 4 July, 8 Aug., 22 Oct. 1855, DP 64; to Macnaghten 18 June, 17 July, 8 Aug., 7 Sept., 8, 22 Oct. 1855, DP 69.

<sup>22.</sup> Robert Vernon Smith, Baron Lyveden: MP 1829-59; President, India Board, 1855-8.

<sup>23.</sup> Smith to Dalhousie 9 Aug., 7 Sept., 8 Nov. 1855, DP 58; Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10 Aug. 1855, DP 66; Dalhousie to Smith 22 Sept., 22 Dec. 1855, DP 64.

<sup>24.</sup> Dalhousie to Macnaghten 8 Dec. 1855, DP 69; to Smith 22 Dec. 1855, DP 64; Smith to Dalhousie 9 Oct., 8 Nov. 1855, DP 58; Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10 Oct., 1855, DP 66.

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Meanwhile, Chairman Macnaghten25 was sure of support for palhousie's recommendations from a large majority of the Court. The celebrated John Stuart Mill, who as an Assistant in the Examiner's Department at the East India House prepared Political Despatches, 'greatly approved' of Dalhousie's minute. Macnaghten's first impressions were generally favourable to Dalhousie's views and Draft Treaty.26 Without awaiting receipt of the minutes of Dalhousie's Councillors, a 'Previous Communication' was prepared accordingly.27 Accepting the view that interference was justified by the Nawab's utter disregard of Treaty obligations, the 'Previous Communication' generally conformed to Dalhousie's proposed remedy and the mode of enforcing it; except that it enjoined guarded application of Art. 5 (regarding adequate provision for the royal persons) lest there should arise a large class of dissolute stipendiaries. The 'Previous Communication' had some opponents in the Court of Directors.<sup>28</sup> Prinsep<sup>29</sup> opposed giving the Nawab an alternative and proposed to take over Oudh at once.30 But before anything further occurred, the 'Previous Communication' was withdrawn from the India Board. Macnaghten had received the minutes of Dalhousie's Councillors,31 whose views he considered least open to objection'.32

<sup>25.</sup> Elliot Macnaghten: Director, E.I. Company, 1842-3, 1845-8, 1850-8; Chairman, 1855.

<sup>26.</sup> Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10, 27 Aug. 1855, DP 66.

<sup>27.</sup> Pre-Com. No. 9492 A received at India Board 8 Sept. 1855; Pre-Coms. and Drafts, Vol. 3 of 1855.

According to the 1784 Act, any despatch submitted by the Court to the Board had to be returned within 2 weeks (extended to 2 months by the 1813 Act). This period was soon found inadequate and Henry Dundas initiated initiated a system whereby the 'Chairs' first forwarded to the Board an unofficial a system whereby the 'Chairs' first forwarded to the Board an unofficial draft in 'Previous Communication'. The 'Previous Communication' thered entered upon the official stage after it had been examined by the Board; then it then it was shaped into a draft at the Court. For details, see C. H. Philips, The East India Company (Manchester, 1961), Chap. I.

<sup>28.</sup> Sykes to Dalhousie, 26 Nov. 1855 (marked 'Confidential'), DP 66.

<sup>29.</sup> Henry Thoby Prinsen: ICS: Director, E.I. Company, 1850-1. 1853-8; had been member of the Supreme Council, 1835-43.

<sup>30.</sup> Prinsep's Oudh Memo. 24 Sept. 1855; Pre-Coms. and Drafts, ibid.

<sup>31.</sup> Minutes enclosed with Foreign Despatch to Court of Directors, No. 50 of 22 Aug. 1855.

Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10 Oct. 1855, DP 66.

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Dalhousie and his Councillors were agreed that the Government should act at once and permanently take the country: controversy centred on whether the end would be reached by a 'direct' road's The Councillors thought the Nawab should not be offered the alternative of going on without the British soldiery and Residency. Alexander Dorin sought justification for this step in the British rights of Paramountcy, Peter Grant in the 'nominally sovereign' character of the Oudh dynasty, and Barnes Peacock in the Law of Nations which enabled an aggrieved party to a treaty to secure whatever remedy was thought sufficient; and John Low generally concurred with Grant. Regarding the Kingly title and rank Dorin advocated abolition, Grant and Low would maintain them during the present Nawab's lifetime, and Peacock conditioned retention on the King's willing acceptance of the treaty.

Influenced by these opinions and those of two or three Bengal members of the Court of Directors,<sup>35</sup> Macnaghten drafted another 'Previous Communication', offering no alternative to the Nawab but to accept the new position, and limiting the royal title to the present King's lifetime.<sup>36</sup> This radical solution had more opponents in the Court than the first 'Previous Communication', including the the Oudh question, Mountstuart Elphinstone,<sup>40</sup> now in retirement in Nawab and 'annexing' the country and without whose signature it went to the Board.<sup>38</sup> President Smith inclined to the more straightforward and direct method when once interference was decided upon but, doubting whether extreme measures would be sanctioned by a strong majority of the Court, returned the 'Previous Communication' privately without expressing an opinion.<sup>39</sup>

- 33. Dalhousie to V. Smith 22 Dec. 1855, DP 64.
- 34. Minutes by J. A. Dorin (11 July 1855), J. P. Grant (7 Aug.), B. Peacock (22 Aug.), and Maj.-Gen. J. Low (21 July, 18 Aug.); PP 1856, Vol. XLV.
  - 35. Sykes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855, DP 66.
- 36. Pre-Com. 9492 B received at India Board on 13 Oct. 1855 (see paragraph, 14-16, 18, 19).
- 37. William Henry Sykes: Director, E.I. Company, 1840-2, 1844-7, 1849-52, 1854-8; Chairman, 1856; MP 1857-72.
  - 38. Syes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855; DP 66.
- 39. Smith to Dalhousie 8, 22 Nov. 1855, DP 58; Pre-Com. returned unaltered to Court on 10 Nov. 1855.

#### DALHOUSIE AND THE ANNEXATION OF OUDH 527

While the London Government were in a state of indecision on the Oudh question, Mountstuart Elphinstone, 40 now in retirement in England, expressed the view that despite British right to dictate a new engagement enforcing the broken article, it would be consistent with liberality and justice to offer an alternative to the Nawab and face the little risk it involved. He propounded the 'liberai' belief that such an experiment had better be made to see how the people reacted to the withdrawal of British protection. Elphinstone thought that, without the presence of British troops in Protected Indian States, extreme oppression would be checked either by revolt or by dread of such a catastrophe on the part of the ruling Power.41 Probably influenced by Elphinstone's letter, Macnaghten fell back upon the first 'Previous Communication' and formulated a Draft, offering the alternative only if the Nawab seemed certain to accept the proposed Treaty. Otherwise, the government should be assumed authoritatively leaving details of arrangement to the Governor-General.42 A paragraph, preserving the royal title to the present sovereign only, raised opposition and was withdrawn. In Committee, some thought it went too far, some not far enough, and others considered the Despatch illtimed.43 However, it struggled through and passed a Special and Secret Court after five hours' discussion.44

The Board proposed to omit the passage reserving opinion on Dorin's and Grant's doctrines concerning unlimited rights of British interference in Oudh, and to insert the words regarding the royal title which had been omitted at the insistence of those who would not abolish the title prospectively.45 The Court argued

40. Left his mark as Governor of Bombay (1819-27) by preparing a complete lawcode and founding a system of public education; author of 'The History of India' (1841).

41. Letter dated 1 Nov. 1855, enclosed in M. Elphinstone to J. Melvill 5 Nov. 1855. The letter and enclosure were sent to Dalhousie as enclosures in Magnetal. in Macnaghten to Dalhousie, 9, 10 Nov. 1855, DP 66.

42. Draft No. 1105, based on Pre-Coms. 9492 A and B.

43. Sykes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855, DP 66. 44. The Political and Military Committee approved it on 14 Nov. 1855 (Despatches to India, Original Drafts, Vol. 94) and the Court discussed it

from 14-16 November (Court Minutes, Vol. 186). 45. See "Paper sent privately to Mr. Mill, of alterations intended by the President", Pre-Coms. and Drafts, Vol. 3 of 1855.

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that with these two alterations the Draft would not be signed by several leading Directors, who with difficulty had been reconciled to omitting a direct disclaimer of the Dorin-Grant doctrines.46 The Board submitted<sup>47</sup> and the Despatch, with their minor modifications, passed the Court.48

Smith considered despatch a fair solution under the circumstances, but that the 'purity' of British motives in annexation must be justified by the future. Sykes, who thought it impolitic to break down the Indian Princes and gentry, had assented merely on humanitarian considerations and in the hope that Dalhousie's judgment would secure for the Nawab a position like that of the Raja of Mysore,49 Two members of the Court of Directors recorded strong dissent 50 Henry Willock<sup>51</sup> opposed interference, which was immoral in view of the long-enduring loyalty of the Nawab's dynasty and because misgovernment had not been such as to induce people to migrate to British India. John Shepherd<sup>52</sup> resented the 'ominous' silence on continuation of the royal title after the present-holder, and the assertion of the right to dictate terms to Indian Chiefs on ground of Paramountcy. In the Company's Court of Proprietors, two motions were brought forward, one condemning the annexation as the worst example of Indian spoliation and an act of basest ingratitude, sa the other calling for restoration of the old dynasty.54 It appears therefore that, while the authorities in London had sanctioned the

46. J. S. Mill to T. N. Waterfield 20 Nov. 1855, ibid.

48. Political Despatch to India No. 33 of 21 Nov. 1855.

50. Dissents by Willock and Shepherd, 17 and 21 Nov. 1855 (Appendix to Court Minutes, Vol. 10, pp. 241-56.

51. Director, E.I. Company, 1838-42, 1844-7, 1849-52, 1854-8; Chairman, 1845.

52. Director, E.I. Company, 1835-6, 1838-41, 1843-6, 1848-51, 1853-8; airman 1844 1850 1 Chairman, 1844, 1850-1.

53. The motion was submitted at the Court of Proprietors on 24 Sept. 1856 and, after some debate, passed in the negative (General Court Minutes, Vol. 19).

54. The motion was submitted at the Court of Proprietors on 24 Mar. and 30 June 1858. But for lack of a quorum, the Court adjourned (ibid)

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<sup>47.</sup> W. Leach to J. Melvill 21 Nov. 1855, Letters from the Board of Control to the Court of Directors, Vol. 18.

<sup>49.</sup> V. Smith to Dalhousie 22 Nov. 8 Dec. 1855, DP 58; Sykes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855, to Canning 20 Nov. 1855, DP 66; Sykes to Canning 19 Sept. 1856, CP 3.

## DALHOUSIE AND THE ANNEXATION OF OUDH 529

Calcutta Government's proposal after deliberations, the Oudh Despatch failed to obtain the desired unanimity. This was because, Calcutta Government's proposal after long deliberations, the Oudh question, and the Court of Directors were divided between Proprincely interests and men who belonged to the school of the strong hand' in dealings with Indian Chiefs and gentlemen.

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Anyway, Dalhousie was at last happy at the large discretion given him in the matter and the 'very liberal' confidence implied thereby. The Nawab refused voluntary acceptance of the treaty offered by Outram and annexation was proclaimed. The price of refusal was discontinuance of the royal title after Wazir. On his own and without reference to London, Dalhousie recommended the introduction of the well-tried village system of land-settlement in Oudh. 57

It is clear, therefore, that from a variety of motives, Dalhousie himself initiated the Oudh policy and that the home Indian authorities merely supported the Calcutta Government's proposal in 1855 after they had scotched the earlier one of 1853; and the above survey will tell that even the decision of 1855 was reached after many a debate and dispute.

56. Dalhousie to Macnaghten 23 Jan. 8 Feb. 1856; to Smith 8 Feb. 1856; to Harris 21 Feb. 1856. DP 117.

57. Letter of Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India, to J. Outram, Chief Commissioner in Oudh, 4 Feb. 1856, DP 1856 XLV. Dalhousie recommended a summary settlement for three years with the parties in actual possession; and it was left to Canning to implement it.

Note: Besides the Dalhousie and Hickleton Papers, the private manuscript sources utilised in this study include the Wood Collection (preserved in the India Office Library, London) and the Canning Papers, introduced here as CP (these are kept in the Central Library, Leeds). The official london, used in this paper, are available in the India Office Library,

<sup>55.</sup> Dalhousie to Smith and Macnaghten 8 Jan. 1856, DP 64; to Sykes Jan. 1856, DP 69.

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## Organisation of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient Bengal and Bihar

BY

#### PUSHPA NIYOGI

There is interesting scope for the study of the economy and internal organisation of the Buddhist monasteries, built in ancient Bengal and Bihar, in different periods. An attempt is being made in the following pages to assess the relevant, though scattered, data in investigating the nature of the resources and equipment of these institutions as effective centres of religion and education.

Resources: land-grants and other gifts:

Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. noticed the prosperous condition of the monasteries in Indian territories, their 'considerable real property and assets held by 'hem.' He adds that 'the king of these countries, the chief men and householders, have raised vihāras for the priests, and provided for their support by bestowing on them felds, houses and gardens with men and oxen'. These grants were lawfully embodied. as mentioned by Fa-hien in title-deeds which 'were prepared and handed down from one reign to another'; 'no one', he says, 'has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption'.¹ Fa-hien clearly states that this was, in fact, the general custom all over India—'in all places this is the case' 2

Less than three centuries later, I-tsing visited some of the monasteries of Northern India and reported that 'the Indian monasteries possess special allotments of land'. About the monastery of Nālandā in particular, I-tsing states: 'The land in its possession contains more than two hundred villages. They have been bestowed upon the monastery by kings of many generations'.

3. Takakusu, 193.

Si-yu-ki, xxxviii; Legge, 43.
 Ibid.

<sup>4.</sup> Takakusu, 65. In the 13th century A.D. the Nālandā monastery was financially helped by king Buddhasena of Bodh-Gaya and a rich lay Brāhnana named Jayadeva—Biography of Dharmasvāmin, xx.

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It is interesting to note that Nālandā has yielded some seals, to be discussed later,<sup>5</sup> which give the names of some villages—which may have been included in the estate referred to by I-tsing. Similar information about monastic properties is also obtainable from the testimony of Hwui-li. He says that 'the king of the country respects and honours the priests' and refers to the remission of the revenue of about hundred villages in favour of the convent. He further speaks of private donations received daily from two hundred householders in these villages, the total amounting to several hundred piculs (1 picul = 133½ lbs.) of ordinary rice together with several hundred cattics (1 catty = 160 lbs.) of butter and milk.<sup>6</sup>

Feeding of priests was regarded as a sacred duty as Hiuen-tsang says. Thus the king of 'Central India' undertook to provide food for 'forty priests of the congregation everyday' in grateful memory of the founder of the Nālandā saṅgharama'. In fact there could be no stable foundation for a monastery without permanent endowments. We learn from a Chinese account that a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta, identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family, built a temple for Chinese priests in Bengal and for its maintenance endowed it with the revenue of about twenty villages. This monastery was intended to encourage Buddhist studies by foreign scholars.8

Hiuen-tsang records an interesting story about Sīlabhadra. He is described as a member of the royal family of Samataṭa, who received the gift of a city from its king (i.e. the assignment of the revenue derived from it) as a reward for his success in a religious controversy with a renowned scholar from the south, in which he took part as a pupil of Dharmapāla. He is said to have built a vast and magnificient monastery near the Guṇamati monastery, out of the gift. There are differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of the implication of the statement: ... "endowed it with Julien understood it to mean 'that Sīlabhadra gave the inhabitants

See section under heading—Seals and metallic tokens.

Beal, Travels, III, 384—5; cf, Watters, II, 165; Si-yu-ki, II, 170.
 Si-yu-ki, intro

<sup>9.</sup> Watters, II, 110; Si-yu-ki, II, 110; Beal, III, 340-342.

of this city as slaves to his monastery'.10 This view does not appear to be plausible. Watters interprets it as 'the revenue derived from the city'.11 Beal interprets the passage differently. He states: 'Of the houses of the town, I understand it to mean the revenues of the Sanghārāma were derived from the rentals of the place, not that the people or the inhabitants were bound to the service of the priests'.12 It may be presumed that the monastery built by Ślabhadra was maintained out of the income derived from the city in some form or other, which the king had originally transferred to him.

Epigraphic evidence is available regarding grants of lands in favour of Buddhist monasteries and establishments, the income from which was earmarked for meeting the cost of daily worship with fruits, flowers, incense and lamps, including the expenses of their clothes, medicines, etc. reading and copying of manuscripts, upkeep of the monastery and 'for various comforts of the revered bhikṣus', etc. Here a few details regarding allotments of lands may be given in brief. Thus the Jagadishpur copper plate grant of the year 128 (= 447-48 A.D.) records a small gift of land jointly by two individuals in favour of a Buddhist vihāra at Gulmagandhika in North Bengal (Bangaladeśa). 13 The Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta14 records the gift of 11 pātakas of land to the Āśrama-vīhara to be used for such purposes as have been specified above. Ashrafpur plate (No. A) records a grant by the king Devakhadga of 9 pāṭakas and 10 droṇas of land. Plate No. B records a gift by prince Rājarāja consisting of 6 pātakas and 10 dronas of land to the monastery of Sanghamitra. The Ratas of Samatata, as known from the Kailan inscription of king Srīdharaṇa, granted 4½ pāṭakas of land for the Āryasaṅgha (Buddhist monks).16 The copper plate of king Bhavadeva issued from Devaparvata records the grant of 7½ pāṭakas of land in favour of the Ratnatraya of Vendamati-viharina which seems to have named after the locality

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<sup>10.</sup> Watters, II, 110.

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12.</sup> Beal, III 342 n59.

<sup>13.</sup> JVRM, I, No. 1, 1972, 23-37.

<sup>14.</sup> IHQ, VI, 1930, 55 ff. 15. MASI, I, 85 ff.

<sup>16.</sup> IHQ, XXIII, 1947, 221 ff.

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in which it was situated. This land was granted together with the udranga.17 The Nalanda copper plate of the reign of king Devapala records the assignment of revenue from five villages in favour of the monastery built at Nālandā by Balaputradeva, king of Sumatra, for the maintenance of monks and the copying of manuscripts.18 The Buddhist monastery in the village Beakhanda at Pattikera was given 20 dronas of land, as recorded in the copper plate of Ranavankamalla Harikāladeva.19

The evidence cited above from other sources seem to support Fa-hien's picture of the prosperity of Buddhist monasteries. The resident monks were free from any pecuniary worries specially because they also received additional gifts of all sorts from the people. Everywhere the resident priests had their chambers furnished with beds, mattresses and were liberally provided with food, drink, clothes.20 From Fa-hien we learn that when the priests received their normal dues from their monasteries, these were supplemented by offerings made by prominent persons as well as individual householders including Brāhmanas. It is interesting to note that priests also presented gifts to one another.21 Hiuen-tsang in his account of Nalanda says that they were so abundantly supplied with clothes, food, bedding, medicines, etc. that they needed no further help. In the opinion of this pilgrim they were thus generously helped to promote the cause of learning to which they were devoted.22 Monasteries also contained gardens in which fruits and flowers required for their every-day use were grown. Sometimes gifts of a special nature were made in favour of monks. Thus the Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva records that the son of his minister, Mālāda came to Nālandā, made some offerings to the resident monks and donated for their use an abode (layana) on the bank of the stream.23 From the account of

<sup>17.</sup> JAS, XVII, 1951, 89 ff.

<sup>18.</sup> EI, XVII, 310 ff.

<sup>19.</sup> IHQ, IX, 222 ff.

<sup>20.</sup> Si-yu-ki, xxxviii.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid, xxxix. 22. Life, 112.

<sup>23.</sup> EI, XX, 237-46; Mālāda gave to the Assembly of monks every day ghee, curd and rice with various preparations also pure and fragrant perfumed water as well as a shining lamp, in addition to the layana.

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## ORGANISATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

pharmasvāmin we learn that a rich man named Jayadeva 'erected a seat adorned with precious stones which had a curtain called si-ha-li' for protection against mosquitoes. Dharmasvāmin says that most of the wealthy people were obliged to honour Buddha in a similar manner.24

In this way monasteries came to own land, villages, pasturage, cattle, etc. for the maintenance of their resident bhiksus. monasteries with their own property of various kinds were able not only to attain self-sufficiency but were also in a position to extend their power and influence in their respective localities.

Monastic property-land and its cultivation:

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> The landed property of the Sangha was held on a collective basis. No question of individual ownership was involved. According to the Vinaya Pitaka tilling was prohibited for a Buddhist monk personally for his own sake, but he was allowed to till for the sangha. A share of the product was to be reserved for the monastic servants and other employees including their families by whom the land was actually tilled. The produce of the land was to be divided into six parts, of which one was to be levied by the sangha. The sangha must provide the bulls, and the land to be tilled. The sangha had no other responsibility. Sometimes the rate of distribution was to be modified according to the seasons.25

> It appears that this system of tilling of the soil and distribution of shares of the produce, meant for the intermediaries, did not always give satisfactory results, due to greed and dishonesty. Hence the responsibility was taken up by the priests themselves who got everything done through their own employees, male and female.26

> While describing the activities of the Bha-ra-ha monastery Lising gives some details about monastic property. He noticed Some tenants waiting in a compound outside the monastery dividing vegetables into three portions, one of which was being presented

<sup>24.</sup> Biography of Dharmaśvāmin, 90-91.

<sup>25.</sup> Cf., Takakusu, 61. 26. Ibid, 61.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid., 62.

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to the priests and the remaining two-thirds kept apart for them. selves. I-tsing unable to understand what all this meant, asked Mahāyāna Pradīpa to explain it. He replied that according to their sacred doctrine, which they strictly followed, Buddhist priests were not allowed to cultivate land themselves. Hence they had to arrange for its cultivation by others who got two-third of the produce as their lawful share. It is to be noted that there is a discrepancy in his accounts with regard to the share of the priests. The priests who supplied bulls, got one-sixth, while those of the monastery situated in Tamralipta, which is specially mentioned got one-third, which is higher than the former rate. It may be assumed that the Tamralipta organisation also supplied bulls required for cultivation. It is not unlikely that out of what they got from the actual tiller, some portions had to be set apart for the domestic servants of the monastery also. Rates may have varied in different localities

Free supply of garments, etc.:

It is understood from the above that food and lodging were provided to the monks of the monastery to which they belonged. Besides, as we learn from I-tsing, clothing of a Bhiksu was also supplied out of the common funds. Provision for clothing was made out of the 'special allotments of lands'28 and out of the yielding from the farms and gardens and the 'profits arising out of the fruits and trees, which were distributed annually in shares to cover the expenditure involved. The monastery was to provide every resident priest his garment and bed-clothes out of its own funds. The distribution was to be made on a basis of equality and the distributed articles were not to be regarded as owned individually. It appears that they were for personal use only.29

Cells for accommodation:

Excavations have brought to light ruins of some monasteries, from which a fair idea about the plan of their construction can be formed. There were cells, specially made in a monastery (vihāra)

<sup>28.</sup> Takakusu, 193-94.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid., 193-194.

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## ORGANISATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

the accommodation of the monks. At Nalanda there were at the account the account apartments; 30 at Somapura 17731 and at Salbanleast over half and at Salban-gja's Palace 120.32 From the account of the Nalanda monastery rapas to have been designed and constructed on a magnificent gale with an eye to the comfort of its inmates. Here the cells te fairly spacious, containing broad stone beds.33 Sometimes extra beds were provided for use as store-rooms where inmates their personal belongings and books. At Paharpur, as excavations show, the cells were usually rectangular in shape but with no beds. Here some of the cells had ornamented pedesals and altars.34 In the Salbanrāja's Palace, which is regarded by some as representing the ruins of a Buddhist monastery, 120 cells have been unearthed, the largest one measuring 161/2 feet by 10% feet. The walls separating the individual cells are 51/2 feet thick. The cells had fire places; some had brick platforms; most of the cells contained 'corbelled niches which were used by the monks for keeping images of the Buddha and oil lamps. In one cell a large bronze image of seated Padmapāṇi on a lotus throne was found.' These apartments no doubt gave the monks the needed privacy, although they led a monastic life, to pursue their studies and perform their religious practices undisturbed. There are indications that lamps and candles were used by the monks for the purpose of study at night in their cells.35. The ruins of monastic buildings, so far brought to light, seem to show some space for bath-rooms in their plan. At Somapura a channel of water was noticed along the wall on the eastern side. Some are of the opinion that this was reserved for use as latrines here36 Of course, attached to most of the monasteries, we find evidence of pools or tanks, which were used for hathing, washing, etc. Itsing noticed at Nālandā ten great pools. He says that aghantā or bell is sounded every morning to announce the bathing time that 'sometimes a hundred, sometimes even a thousand

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<sup>30.</sup> Takakusu, 154.

<sup>31.</sup> MASI, No. 55, Chapter III.

<sup>32.</sup> Khan, Mainamati, 1 ff; ABIA, XVI, LII.

<sup>33.</sup> Measuring 6 feet 9 inches. 34. MASI, No. 55, 6 ff.

<sup>35.</sup> ABIA, XVI, 1948-1953, LII-LIII. 36. MASI, No. 55; cf, Dutt, 372.

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(priests) leave the monastery together, and proceed in all directions towards the pools where all of them take a bath'.37

Arrangements also existed within the monasteries for laundry works. At Nālandā, could be seen a number of cells with water, reservoirs and slabs of stones for washing clothes,

#### Kitchen:

Inside monasteries there were arrangements for the preparation of daily meals of the resident monks according to their requirements. Such arrangements must have been on a proportionately large scale in big monasteries. Some information on this subject is given by I-tsing: 'What we call a monastery is a general designation for the place of residence (for the sangha). the whole of which may be regarded as a monastic kitchen. In every apartment raw and cooked food may be kept, .... moreover the keeping of provisions in the monastery is allowable (according to the Vinaya). The traditional custom of India is to consecrate the whole monastery as a 'kitchen', but to take a part of it to be used as a kitchen is also allowed by the Buddha ... 138 Unlike Hiuen-tsang, I-tsing describes the sacred abode of the monks as a 'kitchen' which is rather curious .... Excavated ruins show a few ovens, scattered about in Nalanda. At Somapura. 2 kitchen and a dining hall are noticed. Here some broken utensils and rice have also been found. Farlier authorities did not mention anything about the nature of drink the monks were permitted to take but Dharmasvāmin explicitly states that the Bud dhist monks were not permitted to take wine but they were a lowed to take 'the juice of pomegranates'.39

## Worship-congregational and individual:

Some monasteries had halls specially built for congregational worship. There were such an assembly halls at the Odantapuri vihāra, the Somapura vīhāra, etc. The Vikramašīla monastery had its own arrangements for the performance of congregational worship. From the writing of Brom-ton we learn that Nag-tsho

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<sup>37.</sup> Takakusu, 108-109.

<sup>38.</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>39.</sup> Biography of Dharmasvāmin, xxvi.

## ORGANISATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES 539

Locháva, the Tibetan scholar, first met Dīpamkara at the mornongregation. There were rows of seats, occupied by the monks at the congregational meeting, where he says, Atīśa came bush meetings could not possibly be held at Nalanda monastery where the number of priests, was more than who could not be accommodated in one hall for prayer. This monastery had 300 apartments and 8 halls. The prayer, the itual and the worship took place separately according to the convenience of the monks concerned. The precentor used to go nund from place to place chanting hymns, preceded by monastic lay servants and children carrying with them incense and howers .....'. He had to move from one hall to another, 'he chants the service, every time three or five ślokes in a high tone, and the sound is heard all around. At twilight he finishes his duty ....'41 Thus the Precentor at the Nālandā monastery had indeed a very heavy assignment of duty every day. As arrangement could not be made for accommodating so many priests in one place, congregational worship was largely replaced specially at Nalanda, by private worship performed by the monks in their own cells.

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Some renowned monasteries are known to have issued their own seals and even coins. Those issued by one particular monastery not only served their purpose within their jurisdiction but had some use in other areas also which had any relation with it. The discovery of such token outside the localities which issued them seems in certain cases to support this view. The right to issue seals and coins, which obviously had legal utility, was a concession to their organisational and economic status.

Some monasteries in Bengal are also found to have enjoyed the right to issue coins and seals bearing authentic marks of their identity in legends inscribed on them. Silver coins have discovered at the Mainamati site with the legend 'Paṭikērya' with couchant humped bull on the obverse and garlands hanging

<sup>40.</sup> Cf, Dutt, S., Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, 368.

Takakusu, 154-156.

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from it on the reverse which are supposed to have been the symbolic issue of the Pattikeraka monastery.42

The ruins of the Raktamrittika-sanghārāma include numerous inscribed terracotta seals and sealings. These were made of clay paste of different sizes. Some of the sealings discovered here bear both devices and legends. Some show a Dharmacakra flanked by two antelopes with a legend in two lines:

Line 1. — Śrī — Rakta (m) rittika ma (ma) hāvaiha Line 2. — rik — ārya — bhikshu (saṅgha) s (y) a ....43

The legend, if it has been correctly read, describes such seals as the issue of the community of noble monks of the great monastery at Raktamrttika. Such seals were also issued from the Somapur vihāra, representing a Dharmacakra, flanked by a deer on each side in the upper and the name of the corporation in the lower level with the legend Śrī Dharmapāladeva - Mahāvihāriya — Ārya — Bhikṣu — Sangha, associating such tokens with the community of the Buddhist monks belonging to the great monastery, known as Dharmapāladeva Mahāvihāra.44 Seals belonging to the Nālandā monastery with the same device and the legend Śrī — Nālandā — Mahāvihāriya — Ārya — Bhikṣusamghasya .... have been found at Nālandā. It may also be noted that there were some seals found at Nālandā, which are of a different kind Such seals give in their legends names of villages, such as Pada pag, Udumbaraka, Amkotthasattā, Sē (vattha) lika-grāma, Nar dana-grāma, Dvitrā-grāma, etc. 46 According to Hirananda Sastri the villages mentioned in the legend possibly maintained a separate establishment at Nālandā which had its own seals as its tokens. Those villages which have been named in the seals undoubtedly belonged to the Nālandā University. They were important enough to be recognised as competent to have seals of their own for use at Nalanda. But details about their exact economic liabilities and administrative apparatus are not known.

43. Das, S. C. Rajbadidanga.

<sup>42.</sup> B. C. Law Volume, II, 217; cf, Phayre, Coins of Arakan, Pegu and Burma, plate II, fig. 21.

<sup>44.</sup> MASI, No. 55, plate LIX (h). 46. MASI, No. 66.

<sup>47.</sup> Ibid, 41 ff.

#### ORGANISATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES 541

that Somapura seals have been discovered at Nālandā and Nālanda seals at Somapura is a significant one. Thus seals bear the names of Dharmasena and Simhasena who may have been two officers in charge of the Mahavihārays in the Pāla dominion, during the rule of the early Pāla kings, viz., Dharmapāla and Devapāla.48

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Some of the monasteries accommodated a large number of monks. Regarding the Nālandā monastery, for instance, we have the evidence of Hiuen-tsang who puts the number of inmates at 10,000.49 But I-tsing who came later puts the number 'upwards of 3,000 in his Record and 3,500 in his Memoirs'.50 In the 13th century A.D. when Dharmasvāmin visited Nālandā there were only 70 monks and 5 teachers residing there. 51 The inmates of the Odanapurī vihāra was, according to a Tibetan source, 12,000.52 But towards the end of the 11th century A.D. when Nag-tsho was in India, he saw the decline of this monastery and in his 'Stotra of Eighty Slokes' mentioned 'Odantapura with-its fiftythree monks'.53 During the reign of Rāmapāla, in the 11th-12th century A.D., there were 160 Professors and 1,000 resident monks at Vikramaśīla.<sup>54</sup> The number of monks dwindled to 100 during the last days when the Muslim raids were going on.55 The Pochi-po sanghārāma accommodated 700 priests in the time of Hiuen-tsang.56

## Enrolment Register:

Enrolment registers were kept in all monasteries, big or small, Mobably to maintain official records of its resident monks, in which the names were registered as the reference to the Bha-

<sup>48.</sup> EI, XXI, 97-101.

<sup>49.</sup> Life, 112.

<sup>50.</sup> Takakusu, 154 n.

<sup>51.</sup> Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 90. 52. BA, II, 1031.

<sup>53.</sup> Ibid, I, 243 n 2.

<sup>54.</sup> Pag-sam-jon-zang, ed. by S. C. Das, 130.

<sup>55.</sup> BA, I, 243 n 2. 56. Si-yu-ki, II, 195.

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raha monastery at Tamrālipti (West Bengal) shows. In this monastery separate arrangements were made for the admission of monks and laymen. I-tsing states that when a new priest arrived at the monastery he was treated for the first five days, by the Assembly, with choicest available food and allowed to rest for the same period. Afterwards he received common treatment, it is interesting to note that for a new entrant a system of probation obtained at this monasery which may have been a regular feature of the monastic organisation of the time. If he was found to be a man of good character, he was permitted to live with them, and was supplied with suitable bed-gear; if he was not learned, he was treated as an ordinary priest; if, highly learned he was assigned the best rooms and servants. When engaged in giving their daily lectures they were freed from other duties connected with the monastic organisation. They were privileged to ride on sedan-chairs but not on horse-back. Then his name was enrolled on the register together with the names of the resident priests. He thus came to enjoy similar influence as the other resident priests. If a layman expressed his desire to become a priest 'his motive was thoroughly enquired into'; if the result was satisfactory he was shaved and his name was written in the register-book of the Assembly. 'If he afterwards violated the laws and failed in his religious performances, he was expelled from the monastery without sounding the Ghanta' (bell) ....'57

The rules of ordination observed at Nālandā monastery, <sup>25</sup> stated by I-tsing included the privilege given to a priest to choose his own guru (preceptor).

#### Admission:

Hiuen-tsang tells that there was a great rush for admission to the Nālandā university. Even students who did not belong to the University of Nālandā tried to pose as such.<sup>58</sup> Every posible effort was made to restrict admission. The admission test was most severe. 'If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions', the Gate-keeper put some difficult questions which many were unable to answer and were therefore

<sup>57.</sup> Takakusu, 64-65.

<sup>58.</sup> Si-yu-ki, II, 170-71.

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## ORGANISATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

refused admission. Deep knowledge of both 'old and new tests' was one of the essential prerequisites of admission. Most candidates failed to satisfy the conditions relating to admission. Out of every ten candidates applying for admission only two or three succeeded.<sup>59</sup> On an average 20 or 30 per cent of candidates applying for admission succeeded, so that the high standard of this University could be maintained. The designation of the officer in charge of this 'screening examination' is 'men-che' in Chinese. 60 The priests of this monastery had a dignity of their own and a great reputation for their discipline and respect for the sacred rules and regulations due to which, there was not a single case of guilty rebellion against the rules of this great establishment for seven centuries since its foundation.61

The Vikramasıla monastery also had its 'Guardians of the Gates'. Their function was two-fold, viz. that of granting admission to students and holding controversies with teachers of other religious faiths. About the 10th century A.D. we hear of six Dvara-pālas including those in charge of the Mahāstambhas in the Vikramaśīla monastery.62

#### Courses of study:

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We do not know whether there was a common prescribed course of study followed in the major Buddhist Universities of India. However, some stray information is available about the subjects taught at the Nālandā University mainly from Chinese accounts. It may be presumed that primary and secondary education were not imparted in the Universities. Students seeking admission to the Nalanda University were to be well grounded; therefore, they were comparatively senior in age. This is understood from the testimony of Hiuen-tsang, who states that a candidate of date for admission to a university faculty was to be one already acquainted with 'old and new books'.63 We have also seen that the

<sup>59.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60.</sup> Cf, Dutt, S., Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India, 332.

<sup>8.</sup> Tāranātha, chapter xxxiii. See below, under heading "Teachers and ministrator". Administrators'.

<sup>63.</sup> Si-yu-ki, II, 171.

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admission test in some of the monastic Universities was very strict and difficult. Hwui-li<sup>64</sup> throws light on the nature and scope of higher education in a passage enumerating the branches of study taught at Nālandā. There were arrangements for the study of the Mahāyāna, the literature of the eighteen Hīnayāna sects as well as subjects like the Vedas and the other books, 'the Hetuvidyā (logic), Sabdavidyā (Grammar and Philology), Cikitsāvidyā (Medicine), the works on Magic (Atharvaveda), Sañkhya (system of Philosophy); besides these they throughly investigate the miscellaneous works (by which are probably meant works of literature and general knowledge). In the Vikramaśīla monastery also many subjects were taught, such as Theology, Philosophy, Logic, Tantra, Metaphysics (including Logic), etc.<sup>65</sup>

Sanskrit became the medium of instruction in liberal studies all over India. 66 Students after acquiring proficiency in the language had to learn composition in prose and verse, and later devoted themselves to Logic (Hetuvidyā) and Metaphysics (Abhidharma-koṣa), etc.

I-tsing<sup>67</sup> states that works on different subjects, as listed by him, had to be studied by both priests and laymen, as otherwise they could not distinguish themselves as 'Bakuśruta' (i.e. proficient in various subjects). For a monk subjects of a secular character were included in the course which was not confined merely to the Vinaya texts but included the Sūtras and the Sāstras. Mahāyāna Philosophy was a compulsory subject at Nālandā. The importance of Mahāyāna is well stressed by V. Smith in his observation that 'a detailed history of Nālandā would be a history of Mahāyāna Buddhism'.<sup>68</sup> Its intensive study at Nālandā accounts for the notable contributions it made in the field of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Tibetan authorities refer to Nālandā as a centre of Tantric studies. Kamalasīla was for sometime a Professor of Tantras at Nālandā.<sup>69</sup> From the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla we learn

<sup>64.</sup> Life, 112.

<sup>65.</sup> HIL, 519-20.

<sup>66.</sup> Takakusu, 176-177.

<sup>67.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68.</sup> ERE, IX, 'under Nälandä'.

#### ORGANISATION OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES 545

that Nalanda was the abode of bhiksus and Bodhisattvas, wellversed in the Tantras'. 70 The pandits of Nalanda are known to have written books on Tantras and Tantricism.71 It appears that Astronomy was one of the subjects taught at Nālandā which was equipped with an astronomical observatory. Nālandā also had a water-clock i.e. clepsydra. 72 Nālandā recognised the importance of learned investigations carried out by its ex-students, incorporating them in its curriculam. Hwui-Li notes that after completing his education at Nalanda, Hiuen-tsang composed a book entitled Hwui-Tsung which was greatly appreciated by his beloved teacher Silabhadra and subsequently incorporated in its course of study.73 Similarly the curriculam included outstanding works of prominent scholars like Nagarjuna, Dharmapāla, Śāntideva, Śāntirakṣita, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, etc.

Methods of teaching and study: discussions and debates.

In the Nalanda University 'The old and the young mutually help one another', which shows that students and teachers, irrespective of their age, co-operated together in a concrete manner in the pursuit of knowledge. I-tsing knew this to be a cardinal feature of the academic usage and life at Nalanda University, as can be understood from his statement, 'thus instructed by their leachers and instructing others they pass two or three years, in the lectures everyday, which were punctually attended by students. The number of such lectures was about one hundred per day.75 Every year there was a special session in which a learned discourse was given by a pandit, of which the main interest lay in the refutation of the Sastras, Puranas, etc. Besides discussions and debates were arranged here in which both teachers and students participated. Meetings where such discussions took place lasted

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<sup>70.</sup> EI, XVII, 325.

<sup>71.</sup> IHQ, IX, 1933, 4.

<sup>12.</sup> Takakusu, 142-143; cf, JRAS, XIII (NS), 571: 'This is the only temple in which, by Imperial order, a water-clock is kept to determine the right in the right time'.

<sup>73.</sup> Life, 158.

<sup>14.</sup> Takakusu, 177. 75. Life, 112.

from morning till night. Profound questions were raised and debated upon. Those unable to discuss questions out of the Tripitika were put to shame. Not only persons connected with the University took part in the discussions held, but also learned men from various cities came and attended them with a view to settle their own doubts and also to earn prominence amongst scholars. In this way, as Hiuen-tsang says, wisdom was not confined within the precincts of the University but diffused far and wide. It appears that there was a constant urge for opposition of heretical views which had to be criticised and exposed even outside the University. One of the main duties of the students of the Universities was to prepare manuscripts of texts.

#### Daily routine of study:

The students of the Nālandā University had to follow certain rules regarding their daily routine and study. Thus, Hiuen-tsang read 'the Yoga-śāstra, three times; the Nyaya Anusara-śāstra, once; the Hin-hiang-tu-fa-ming, once; the Hetuvidyā and the Śabdavidyā and the tsah-liang-śāstra, twice; the Prāṇya-mūla-śāstra-tikā, and the Śata-śāstra, thrice'. This was followed by his attending lectures on the intricacies of Koṣa, Vibhaṣa and the Ṣatpadābhidharma. He next devoted himself to non-Buddhist studies. Thus a convenient and fixed routine made it possible for the students to be instructed in several branches of study in the University according to their choice if the necessary teaching arrangement existed.

#### Specialisation:

Intensive study of the prescribed courses was an essential feature of the Nālandā discipline. This promoted specialisation. At the same time this could be combined with a broadening of interest in various allied subjects, taught in the university, as mentioned above. What the students learned in the different academic departments or 'Schools of Studies', affiliated to the

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<sup>76.</sup> Si-yu-ki, II, 170.

<sup>77.</sup> Takakusu, 181.

<sup>78.</sup> Cf. Bendell, Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, 101; JASB (NS), IV, 105.

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University, was stimulated further through critical debates held in the 'Schools of Discussions'. 80 The Sumpa refers to the fifty-eight Sainsthās of Vikrama-śīla.

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It seems that the minimum period of study at Nalanda or Valabhi was two or three years.81 But surely a much longer neriod was required, as determined by the capacity of the individual student concerned and the range of the courses which he took up for study and specialisation. Hiuen-tsang stayed at Nālandā for six years (c. A.D. 629-635) and I-tsing studied there for ten years (A.D. 673-682).82

#### Library facilities:

An essential annexe of a teaching vihāra was its library. Academic activity of a vihāra depended on its library, which, in some recorded cases, attained a high reputation for the richness and variety of its collections of books and manuscripts, Buddhist and non-Buddhist. I-tsing, as mentioned above stayed at Nālandā for ten years and collected some four hundred Sanskrit texts comprising 500,000 ślokes.83 The imposing library of Nālandā University was housed at a spot which was called 'Dharmaganga', a veritable mart' of Dharma. It comprised three buildings, viz. Ratnasagara (Ocean of Jewels), Ratnodadhi (Sea of Jewels) and Ratnarañjaka (Jewel adorned). The second of these buildings was a ninestoryed one.84 The Odantapuri monastery also had an impressive library. When the Muhammadans under Ikhtiyar Khilji (son of Bakhtyar Khilji) occupied Odantapurī, the vihāra was found to comprise large collections of books, which accounted for the fame of the city as a great centre of learning.85 The Vikramaśīla nonastery must have acquired a large collection of rare books on Tantra, Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic, in which the Tibetans

<sup>80.</sup> Si-yu-ki, II, 170.

<sup>81.</sup> Takakusu, 177. 82. Ibid, xxxiii.

<sup>83.</sup> Ibid, xxxiii.

<sup>84.</sup> See, S. C. Das's Pag-sam-jon-zang, 92; HIL, 516.

<sup>85.</sup> Elliot and Dawson's, History of India as told by its own Historians,

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took a great interest.<sup>86</sup> The Tanjur and the Kanjur testify that a good number of Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan at the Vikramasila monastery.

Examinations and awards: Academic distinctions and Honours:

For want of definite information we cannot say whether there were any system of examination marking the end of an academic career, as is found in a modern University. But it may be supposed that it was for the teacher to certify whether a scholar under his pupilage had fulfilled his duties and completed his task. Scholar of the Vikramaśīla University, who distinguished themselves in their respective fields of study, were awarded the title of Paṇḍita' by royal patrons. Among the recipients of such honour mention may be made of Ācārya Jetari of Varendra and Ratnavajra of Kashmir. The walls of the Vikramaśīla mənastery were decorated with pictures of such luminaries, 87

Status of the learned monks.

Eminent scholars and teachers enjoyed a special prestige and privilege in the Universities to which they were attached. Thus in the Bha-ra-ha monastery in Tamrālipti the best rooms and servants were provided to learned monks. When engaged in giving their daily lectures they were freed from other duties connected with the monastic organisation. They were privileged to ride in Sedan chairs when going out and not on horse-back.88 It was the custom generally to extend to distinguished visiting monks a hearty and cordial welcome. Thus when the people of Nalanda heard that Hiuen-tsang was coming to visit them, the University commissioned to the commissi sioned four influential men for his reception. After taking rest in the guest house, Hiuen-tsang proceeded to the Nalanda University premises with two hundred followers and one thousand lay patrons. The Nalanda authorities instructed their staff to see that everything there were the staff to see that every thing they required was readily supplied to them, and to look after their comfort and convenience with the utmost care. 89 Leaving

<sup>86.</sup> HIL, 519-20.

<sup>87.</sup> HIL, Logic, 520.

<sup>88.</sup> Takakusu, 64; cf, 124-126.

<sup>89.</sup> Life, 106-109; cf, Si-yu-ki, xxxiii, Legge, 44.

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everyo look eaving the guest house, Hiuen-tsang met Śīlabhadra, who as desired by the pilgrim, gladly accepted him as his pupil. Afterwards he was taken, as arranged, to the college of Bālādityarāja (a four-storey building) where he resided with Buddhabhadra for seven days. Next he went to reside at a place situated to the north of the dewelling of Dharmapāla. During his stay here Hiuen-tsang was provided with daily offerings consisting of 120 Jambiras, 20 pinbong-tseng (puga areca-nut), 20 tau kau (nutmegs), an ounce of camphor and a ching (peek) of Mahāśāli rice, an exceptional variety grown in Magadha only and exclusively reserved for kings and religious leaders of outstanding distinction. The pilgrim was also supplied with oil, butter and other necessaries.90 It may be noted that the Chinese themselves were not surprised at the hospitality shown to Hiuen-tsang for they say that in the Nalanda convent 'a myriad priests' were entertained in the same fashion. Men hailing from every quarter were treated with the same courtesy in the course of their pilgrimage.91 I-tsing states that a new priest on his arrival at the Bha-ra-ha monastery was allowed rest for the first five days and entertained with 'the best of their food' for this period. at the instance of the assembly.92 Dharmasvāmin in the 13th century A.D. was honourably received by Rājā Buddhasena of Magadha at Nalanda and was provided by one Javadeva with a bed and a curtain with a light and a fan installed in it.92a This was at a time when the glorious days of Buddhist institutions were already over.

Teachers and Administrators.

Eminent teachers were of the rank of Ācāryas. Among them some are known to have been head, of the University's administrations. During Hiuen-tsang's visit Ācārya Sīlabhadra performed both teaching and administrative duties. A list of such Ācāryas belonging to different periods is provided by the pilgrim. These at Nālandā were distinguished for their sage-like qualities and academic achievements, with no definite administrative functions assigned to them, including such names as Dharmapāla, Chandra-

<sup>90.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91.</sup> Life, 110.

<sup>92.</sup> Takakusu, 64.

<sup>92</sup>a. Biography of Dharmasvāmin, 90.

pāla, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra, Jinamitra (known for his eloquence), Jñānachandra, Sigrabuddha and Sīlabhadra, He refers to the importance of their work which spread the fame of the University abroad. I-tsing's contemporary at Nālanā was Ratnasimha. He speaks of him and a few other teachers conspicuous in the long history of Nālandā in highest terms. In his opinion, 'such persons in every generation only one or two appear. They are to be linked to the sun and moon'. Among them were Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghoṣa of an early age; Vasubandhu, Asanga, Sanghabhadra, Bhavaviveka in the middle ages; and Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Sīlabhadra, Simhakandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Prajñāgupta, Gunaprabha, Ginaprabha (or Paramaprabha) of late years.

It is noteworthy that he mentions amongst those celebrities Dharmapāla, Šīlabhadra, etc. who are also referred to by Hiuentsang. Amongst the distinguished teachers of his time Gñānakanddra, a Master of Law, lived in the Tiladha Monastery in Magadha; Ratnasimha was in the Nālandā monastery; Dīvākaramitra in Eastern India; Tathāgatagarbha of the South. Sākyakīrti of Sumatra. In this connection he also refers to Nālandā of the 6th, 7th centuries A.D. as "a place filled with monks of different sects, where preaching and study continued without interruption...it was a self-refuge for preacher who wandered about the country."

Subsequently as the glories of Nālandā diminished, some other universities rose and flourished. Tibetan scholars started visiting India when Vikramašīla has become a prominent centre. Tāranātha gives an account of the succession of teachers at Vikramašīla. During the rule of the five successive kings starting from king Dharmapāla 'and till the period of Canaka', a number of great Tantric Vajrācāryas locked after the 'Law at Vikramabhadra, (1) Buddhajñānapāda, (2) Dīpamkara, (3) Lankā-jayabhadra, (4) Śrīdhara, (5) Bhavabhadra, (6) Bhavyakīrti, (7)

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<sup>93.</sup> Si-yu-ki, II, 171.

<sup>94.</sup> Takakusu, 181-2.

<sup>95.</sup> Ibid, 184-5.

<sup>96.</sup> BA, II, 1081-4,

<sup>97.</sup> Tāranātha, Chapter XXXVIII.

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illavajra, (8) Durjayacandra, (9) Kṛṣṇa-samayavajra, (10) Tathāgta-rakṣita, (11) Bodhibhadra and (12) Kamalarakṣita followed by many ācāryas of Tantra.

The most important information which we owe to Tāranātha is that all the great teachers except the first two, mentioned above. were administrative heads in different periods, each of them acting as the chief of the centre for twelve years. But the tenure of office of the first two is not mentioned in this connection. Kamabraksita, the last in the list, was followed by a group of six Gate-Keeper Scholars. Next to them came separately many acarvas of Tantras. 98 .... He adds that 'there was no continuity in the succession of Upādhyāyas for some years, before Upādhyāya Dipamkara-Śrī-jñāna. If the post of the Upādhyāya thus remained vacant for seven years this may have been due to the assurance sid to have been given by Dipamkara that he would return from his foreign mission after some time. At the end of the period the vacancy was filled in by Mahāvajrāsana who held the post or a short period, followed successively by Kamalakuliśa, Narendra-śrī-jñāna, Dānarakṣita. The next incumbent was the famous scholar Abhayākaragupta, who acted in this capacity for a long time. He was succeeded by Subhākarāgupta. Next was Nayakapaśrī and after him Dharmākaraśantī who was succeeded by Śakyaśri, the pandit of Kashmir. With him the history of Vikramasīla, as narrated by Tāranātha, came to an end.

Evidently he means that the post of the Upādhyāya in the University was one of teaching combined with administration. The Upadhyaya was not only the ablest available teacher but also the head of the institution.

There is some information of special interest about Dīpamwhich shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the shows that royalty exercised its choice in the shows the sh ment of the religious functionaries of the highest grades. Thus, Dipamkara was appointed the Chief High Priest by king Mahi-Ma I. Later he was made the 'High Priest' by king Nayapāla. These two offices may have been different. While as the Chief High Priest he may have remained in complete charge of the briesth. his during the Vikramaśīla monastery during Mahīpāla's reign, his duties as the High Priest during Nayapāla's reign were not

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<sup>98.</sup> Ibid.

possibly identical. The reason for this change in the designation is not known.

The Sthavira's function in the University is not clearly shown, He was probably, as the expression indicates, the senior-most member of the staff and as such had some official duties. As mentioned in the account of Brom-ton, Dipamkara had to seek the formal permission of the Sthavira Ratnakara and hand over charge to him before he left the Vikramaśila monastery for Tibet.99 The name of this Sthavira is given as Silakara in another account.100

The Elders of the Somapura monstery had lineage-names like '-garbha', 'mitra', 'nandin', 'bhadra', etc. which signified, as suggested by Dikshit, 'continuity of succession of monks' at Somapura vihāra.101 From the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrśmitra102 we come to know that Karunaśrimitra died as a martyr when the Vangala army marched to the Somapura monastery and set fire to it Karunaśrimitra refused to leave his post and was burnt to death.

Later Vipulaśrīmitra gave his help in the work of restoration carried out at the monastery and adding new features to it. The Elders' function is not detailed but certainly if included the services directly attributed to Vipulasrimitra in the above inscription.

The Nalanda monastery had a 'Director' whose duty was to announce by beating a bell that permission had been granted to Hiuen-tsang to live in the monastery who was to be supplied with all essential things wanted by him for his personal and religious use. It was the seniormost monk at Nālandā who enjoyed the office of the Director. He was the custodian of the keys of the monastery. It appears that the Sthavira of the Vikramasila monastery and the 'Elders' of the Somapura monastery performed duties somewhat similar to those of the Director of the Nalana monastery. I-tsing speaks of a priest in the Bha-ra-ha monastery

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<sup>99.</sup> Sumpa, 185.

<sup>100.</sup> BA, I, 247.

<sup>101.</sup> Dikshit, Paharpur, 74. 102. EI, XXI, 97-101.

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one of whose chief duties was to examine the water of the well used for drinking and other purposes. If there was no insect in it, the water was used but if there was a living insect, the water was filtered.103

From the Buddhist stone inscription from Ghosrawa, dated in the 9th century A.D., we learn that Devapala was pleased with Viradeva who received the king's homage. Viradeva, son of indragupta and his wife Rajj (ē) kā belonged to a noble Brahmanical family of Nagarahāra. He visited the diamond-throne at Mahābodhi (or Bodh Gaya) and Yaśovarmapura vihāra in the town of Yasovarmapura. Later he was appointed administrator (Governor) of Nālandā by the Assembly (Nālandā - paripālanava niyatah sangha — sthiter = yah sthitah ....). 104

I-tsing refers to the Assembly and its function in his account of the Bha-ra-ha monetary at Tāmralipta in West Bengal. He states that whenever anything even a stalk of vegetable, was given (to the priests by other persons, they made use of it through the assent of the Assembly. This monastery had no principal officers; every business was settled by the Assembly. No priest had the right to decide anything by himself or treat the other priests according to his own will without the consent of the Assembly. If he did so he was expelled from the monastery, being called a kulapati because he acted like a householder. The Assembly had the power to select rooms for allotment and distribution to the learned and also new priests. The Assembly could also expel a monk for misconduct. 105 Thus we find that the Assembly of the Bha-ra-ha monastery had an effective control over the monks both old and new learned or otherwise. The Assembly at Nalandā, in selecting Vīradeva as the Governor of the monastery may have been impressed by the respect shown to Viradeva by the king. It appears from the account of Hiuen-tsang that a person Seeking admission to the Nālandā monastery had to be examined by the Gate-keeper in the Assembly. 106

A system of admission test, which was regarded as very difficult, used to be conducted by the Gate-Keepers of Nalanda and

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<sup>103.</sup> Takakusu, 62.

<sup>104.</sup> IA, XVI, 307-312. 105. Takakusu, 65.

<sup>106.</sup> Si-yu-ki, II, 171.

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Vikramasīla monasteries. From the nature of the text described by Hiuen-tsang it appears that the post of the Gate-Keeper carried with it a great responsibility which could be entrusted only to a highly learned person. Those who failed at the test, held by the Gate-Keeper, were refused admission. 107 According to the Tibetan tradition recorded by Taranatha the number of Gate-Keepers was six at the Vikramasila monastery each in charge of a separate Gate, after the reign of Mahipala (10th—11th century A.D.).108 The six Gate-Keepers named below were eminent logicians: 109

Ācārya Ratnakara Šānti of the eastern gate; Vāgīśvarakirtī of Banaras of the western gate; Naropa of the northern gate; Prajñakaramati of the southern gate; Ratnavajra of Kashmir of the First Mahāsthamba (the first central gate); Jñāna-śrī-Mitra of Gaḍa in charge of the second Mahāstambha.

Possibly with the decline of the Nalanda University the field of activity of the Vikramaśīla University extended to a considerable extent; the examination system also in course of time became more technical and complicated, requiring the number of Gate-Keepers to be increased in view of the changed situation.

The Karmadana, was an officer who probably fixed the duties of the inmates, supervised the monastic works, 110 regulated times,111 arranged the order of procedure at the congregational feast, 112 etc. He was also in charge of the monastic kitchen. In short, the Karmadana was an officer having some control over the management of the monastic establishment and its inmates. His work was more or less like that of a sub-director, of an insti-

A number of seals discovered at Pāharpur refer to two persons, Dharmasena and Simhasena. It is interesting to note that seals bearing their names have also been found at Nalanda. Dikshit holds, 'they must have been two dignataries or officers of the Pāla regime who had charge of supervision of Mahāvihāras.'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

- 107. Ibid.
- 108. Tāranātha, Chapter XXXIII.
- 109. Takakusu, 148.
- 110. Ibid, 145.
- 111. Ibid, 147-149.
- 112. EI, XXI, 97-101.

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During the rule of the Pāla kings Dharmapāla and Devapāla three monsteries attained exceptional prominence, Nālandā, Somapura and Vikramaśilla. Although they managed their own affairs according to their institutional usage and rights they received considerable patronage from the rulers and were sometimes brought under the general supervision of the State exercised by royal nominees. Thus the Ghoshrawa stone-slab inscription of the reign of Devapāla,113 as already mentioned, refers to Devapāla appointing a monk named Viradeva as the Governor of the Nalanda University. Similarly, Dīpaṃkara was appointed the Chief High Priest of Vikramaśīla by king Mahīpāla I and later as the High Priest of of the same monastery by king Nayapāla. Dharmasena and Simhasena, whose names have been found inscribed on some sals form Somapura and Nālandā may have been similarly apminted as officers, to perform some unspecified duties connected with these organisations. There were links between different monasteries, indicated by the fact that the Head of the Vikramasīla monastery also held a similar post at the Nālandā University. A resident of Somapura named Vipulaśrīmitra constructed a temple of Tārā at Somapura and also erected a monastery at Nālandā. 114 Instances of students, monks and scholars migrating from one monastery to another are available. For example, Dīpaṃkara received ordination from Ācārya Bodhibhadra of Nālandā and after having studied there for sometime, went to Odantapuri for further studies. He finally became the Head of the Vikramaśīla vihāra. Vairocana raksita was a learned Tantric scholar<sup>115</sup> who visited ifferent monasteries in search of knowledge. We are told that he stayed for sometime at Nālandā and Vikramašīla and received instruction from Pandita Sarana — "The Head of the Yogins in he town of Somapura." From an inscription was learn that Viryendra, a native of Samatata, and belonging to Somapura, made donation at Bhodhgaya. The different universities which had Bown up in Bengal and Bihar were thus complimentary to one nother, in various fields of official and academic activities. was possible because they had developed certain common charac-

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<sup>113.</sup> IA, XVIII, 311 ff; Ghosh, A., Guidé to Nālānda, 46. 114. Ghosh, A., Guide to Nālānda, 46.

<sup>115.</sup> Ibid, 35; EI, XXI, 97-101.

<sup>116.</sup> JAS, 1908-9, 158.

teristics in their aims and functioning. Consequently, when some of the existing universities lost their grandeur, there remained others which continued to give their guidance to those who sought it though on a reduced scale. Śākya Śrībhadra, a learned monk from Kashmir, came to Magadha in 1202 A.D. and visited all the Buddhist centres of learning. When he found that both Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla had been destroyed by the Muslims, he proceeded to Jagaddala, which was still in existence, where he stayed for three years and found many pupils, prominent among them being Danaśīla, and Vibhuticandra. The learned monk. Subhakara Gupta accepted him as his pupil. 117

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From a study of the organisation of the different Buddhist establishments it may be concluded that from the very beginning due attention had to be given to their economic and administrative problems.

The character of a Buddhist University was naturally much more complicated with its extensive field of activity than a small vihāra where priests resided together and carried on their worship and study only. Even for a small vihāra there were problems regarding its proper organisation as a corporate body controlled by the rules of discipline as laid down in the Buddhist Canon With the historic development of a University out of relatively small beginnings its organisational requirements had to be adjusted to its expanding size and activities. This necessitated the appointment of various categories of functionaries, each with special duties and responsibilities attached to it. It seems, however, that though in some respects a common pattern of organisation developed the special needs of each institution had to be served and details worked out in keeping with its tradition and the availability of resources under different condtions. This explains the fact that the details gathered are not the same in all cases where such organisations have been described.

117. Cordier's Catalogue, II, 293.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

			ADDIEVINITORS
-	'aid	_	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.
	ABIA	_	The Blue Annals, trans, G. N. Roerich.
	BA		Travels of Hiouen-Thsang by S. Beal, Calcutta, 1958.
	Beal, Travels		Epigraphia Indica.
-	El		Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
September 1	ERE		History of Indian Logic, by Satis Chandra Vidya-
College College	HIL		bhusana, Delhi, 1971.,
	lA.	_	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
-	IHQ	_	Indian Historical Quarterly.
1000	IAS		Journal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- Contract	IASB		Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
The state of the s	IASB (NS)		Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Calcutta.
-	IVRM	_	Journal Varendra Research Museum.
Section of the last	Khan-Mainamati	-	Excavations at Salban Raja Palace Mound on Mainamati-Lalmai Ridge, 1965.
	Legge	_	A Record of the Buddhist Kingdom, by James Legge. (Travels of Fa-hien, by James Legge).
The same	Life	_	The Life of Hiuen-tsang, by Shaman Hwui Li, Eng.
-			trans, by S. Beal.
The Parks	MASI	-	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
	RC	-	Ramacharita by Sandhyakara Nandi.
-	Si-yu-ki	_	Buddhist Records of the Western World by S. Beal.
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Takakusu A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing. Trans. by J. Takakusu.

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### Some Aspects of Military Administration in Medieval India

BY

#### JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

#### 1. Factors influencing military organisation and development

Military institutions in a country or state reflect the social system, the national economy, state policy and the level of military art. The influence of the socio-political set up is seen in the nature. and aims of the army—its composition, recruitment and training methods. The economic potential of a country directly affects the size and equipment of the army, and hence, indirectly also the organization, techniques of conduct of war,-tactics, operation and strategy. State policy directs the military objectives and the trend of political considerations. The level of military art varying with the development of military science might usher in new weapons which generate new combat methods and so affects the organisational structure, size, character and technique of the army.

Opinions might differ regarding the essentials of a sound organisational structure, or the conditions of a perfect army. But there are certain minimal conditions which can be neglected only at grave peril:

- (i) A good military administration or organisation presupposes various factors like a good recruiting system and well-organised system of national reserves, proper combat staff and administrative listitutions, suitable system of rewards, a proper system of assignment. ment to command and of directing the principal operations of war, and good system for the commissariat, hospital and of general administration.
- (ii) Armaments (for both offensive and defensive purposes) must be superior to those of the enemy.
- (iii) Artillery and military engineering as special arms must be well developed and well-instructed.

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- (iv) A proper system of application of these elements (by a general staff) and an organization for the education of officers in the theory and practice of officers. This demands personnel training.
- (v) Discipline must be strict but not humiliating, based on conviction rather than authority. The spirit of subordination must be spontaneous and not imposed from above.
- (vi) The military spirit of the people must be roused and the morale kept alive.1

#### 2. Army recruitment—types of Armies

Military organisation grew up in close conformity to contemporary social and political developments. Ancient and early medieval Indian literature from the Vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas, the epics, Kautilya's Arthasastra to Chandesvara, deals with the subject of recruitment of the army. The armies of the Vedic Aryans probably consisted of armed retainers of the king and the tribal host; later on the military profession was restricted to a special class or caste, the Kshatriyas. Ancient and medieval Indian theorists, taking their cue from Kautilya, refer to six types of soldiers (subject to some verbal changes), arranged below in order of preference:

- (a) the maula-bala (from mula), the standing army of the state, the mainstay of the rulers in offensive and defensive wars. It has been interpreted differently by different writers. It might have been recruited from families of hereditary soldiers, depending on land-grants and hence loyal to the ruling dynasty as 'the hard core of men bound to the ruling house by military honour and hereditary loyalty', as Ghoshal explains. The standing army was usually small in size, consisting of feudal contingents, which constituted the bulk of the maula army, native force. Kautilya held that a standing army composed exclusively of Kshatriyas was superior to a heterogeneous force. This agrees with Clausewitz's view that only a standing army possesses military virtue.
- (b) the Bhrita (Bhritaka-bala, Bhritya) or hired troops, i.e., volatile mercenaries, coming from different regions.
  - Sokolovskii, ch. 5, 317, 326; Engles, 160; Jomini, 56.

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(c) the Sreni-bala: This has been differently interpreted as a kind of militia or land wehr: as guild levies (members of economic guilds, taking to arms during war or employing soldiers to protect their goods) pressed into service by the king when necessary or as corporations of soldiers (ayudhajivi sanghas) or 'companies of men of the same category under their own commanders' as Ghoshal explains. Such a force was not always dependable.

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- (d) the mitra-bala or Suhrid-bala or armies of a feudatory or an ally, also unreliable at times.
- (e) the amitra-bala or aribala, dvisadbala (led by Arya Commanders according to Kautilya) or captive or enslaved soldiers of the enemy or those seduced by the aggressor state or deserters from the enemy,—to be used to weaken the latter, but not to be trusted.
- (f) the atavi-bala (ātavika), literally forest or wild tribes or hill men, e.g., Sabaras, Nishadas, Mlechchas under their own chiefs. This constitutes an irregular force of aboriginals and tribals. Kautilyas advises the use of the last two categories for plundering enemy territory only, as it was dangerous to use them for other purposes.

On the whole the broad distinction lay between regular professional army maintained by kings and additional levies, feudal or otherwise, depending on need.

There were two kinds of military recruitment according to Sukracharya. (i) The trained maula, officered and manned by the State, supplied with weapons and conveyances at state expenses,—the standing army, trained and regimented (gulmibhuta), (ii) the untrained sādyaska, emergent, improvised militia, enlisted by conscription or voluntary service, untrained and unregimented (agulmaka), with their own captains responsible for their own arms, accoutrements and conveyances. These two categories were respectively described as the efficient (sāra) and the inefficient (asāra). Mention is made of other categories but not to srenibala of Kautilya. This might imply that Srenis perhaps might have died out then. Such a distinction anticipates the division under the Mughals and the Marathas into bargirs, whose horses were

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provided by the state and Sillahdars, who had to provide their own horses.2

#### 3. Personnel

The Indian armies were, therefore, heterogeneous. They included not only local recruits of different categories but foreign adventurers as well. In Sind Dahir enlisted 500 Arab troopers under Muhammad Allafi. Kashmir also enlisted mercenaries from Rajputana, Salt Range, the Punjab, Magadh, the Yavanas and Turushkar.

The conquering Muslim army in India was also heterogeneous. The Muslim army in Arabia at first consisted of Arab tribes. But other elements came in after the conquest of Syria and South Iraq and as conquests progressed. Each division (jund)) of the army was based on the tribal unit with its own standard, residing in a camp. From the time of the Umayyads, the army became more professional. The Abbasids introduced the mercenary element. The imported Turkish guard in Iraq was like the Roman praetorian guard at Rome. The army swelled up with mercenaries from the north viz., Oghuz and Qipchaq peoples during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Governors of provinces also recruited tribesmen for local defence. It was a composite host of Arabs, Persians, Syrians, Berbers and West Asiatics who conquered Sind.

The problem became acute under the Ghaznavids. Sultan Mahmud had a racially diverse army. It became a vexed question whether the army was to be mono-national (mono-racial) or multi-

(5) Recruitment: Sukra, iv. 7.9-15.

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<sup>2(</sup>a) Recruitment and types of armies: The earliest reference to six limbs (sadanga) of the army is in the epics and Kautilya, 9.2.11. It is repeated is Kamandaka xviii.2.25f; xix, 4-9; Agni, P. 242.1-2; Niti, P. 22.15; and Managollaga, V-1 and Manasollasa, Vol. I, pp. 79-81, (sl. 556-61) and also found in epigraphs of 6th-11th contains of 6th-11th centuries. See Thomas in CHI.i.489, Kane in Hist. of Dharma-sastra iii. ch 8 (P-1-Chakravarti, Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 3-10. Sukra, IV. 7.24; Saletore, Wild Tribes in Ind. II. Wild Tribes in Ind. History, refers to the policy of the Hindu rulers towards wild tribes and describe to the policy of the Hindu rulers. wild tribes and describes the following wild tribes: Kirātas, Sabaras, Bedars, and other miscellaness to the policy of the Hindu rules. and other miscellaneous tribes, the Pulindas, Nisādas, Dasārnas, Mātangas, Pundras, Lambakamas, Tripnaras, Pundras, Lambakarnas, Karnapravarnas, Ekapadas, Yaksas and Kinnaras, chs. i-v. Clausewitz Or W. chs. i-v. Clausewitz, On War, i.183. Storia ii.459; Haft Anjuman; Sen, Mil. Sys.; E. & D. i. 156: Poits. Sys.; E. & D. i. 156; Rajtarangini, Secs. vii and viii.

national (multi-racial). Some came to regard the absence of a strong group of local or native soldiers in the Ghaznavid army as a sign of weakness. But in the eleventh century both Nizam-ul-mulk, the famous author of Siyasatnamah and Kaikaus favoured a diverse army. The component nationalities, encamping separately under respective guards, displayed a spirit of emulation on the battlefield. Mutual fear kept the Turki and Indian sections of the palace guards under control and submissive.

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ras, Vil. A mono-racial bodyguard would make the Sultan its submissive prisoner instead of its master. There were several examples of multi-racial armies in Islam. The Buyid army consisted of Dailamis, Turks and Arabs. The Fatimids (11th century) had Berbers, Negroes, Beduins and Turks as soldiers. The Byzantines had contingents from tributary states and foreign mercenaries. The only pre-requisite was the existence of a strong ruler.

The core of the medieval armies and the Sultan's bodyguards under the Muslim Persian dynasties, the Samanids and the Ghaznavids was the slave contingents (ghilman) of the Turks, Indians, Tajiks, Khurasanis under a salar-i-ghulaman. In those days an army of slaves trained for war, without any local connections or roots was considered to be a valuable asset. The personal bond of fealty tended to ensure loyalty. An obedient slave was considered better than a hundred children. The child is said to desire his father's death, the slave his long life. Like the Turks the Indians in Ghaznavid army also lacked home ties and other distracting interests. Like the Arabs and Kurds the Indians had their own commander (sipah salar-i-Hinduyan below the Hajib-i-Buzrug) and residential quarter in Ghazna. They were to serve as a counterpoise to the Turks and held to be more reliable than the latter. Sultan Muhmud had Hindu commanders. appointed a Hindu translator as commander in spite of resentment at his court. The Indians under Suvendhray alone kept loyal to Sultan Muhammad (1030). The Indian soldiers were good fighters. The orthodox Sultans employed the tenacious pagan Rajputs and under Mahmud they killed the Muslims and Christians of Zaranj mercilessly (1003).3

<sup>3.</sup> Khadduri, 55-7; Bosworth 107-110, 98-101.

Thus the Ghaznavide army contained a battalion of Hindu soldiers but this was perhaps non-existent in the Sultanate period According to Barani (86) the royal army was accompanied by contingents supplied by Hindu rais and ranas Ghazi Malik's army had separate divisions of non-Hindu Khokhars. In the Delhi Sultanate exclusive dependence on one section was sought to be avoided. A separate unit of soldiers of each nationality was formed, for,-Fakhr-i-Mudabbir advises,-the essential unity and singleness of purpose would be lacking in a heterogeneous army. At the time of Ghiyasuddin's Delhi attack his army consisted of various nationals, (Ghuzz, Mughals, Rumis, Russians, Tajiks, Khurasanis, etc.).4 We learn from Qalqashandi that the army of Muhammad bin Tughluq consisted of Turks, Khitais, Persians. Indians and other elements.<sup>5</sup> Slaves constituted an important part of the Sultanate army and had a separate establishment (diwan-ibandagan). Their loyalty was unstinted. Many rose to be commanders, e.g., under Sultan Mahmud. Firuz, whose slaves numbered 1,80,000 had a slave as his 'ariz-i-mamalik. Sher Shah had several non-Afghan elements.6

In general it may be said that the armies of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal Emperors were also heterogeneous. These also included most of the above types in ancient and early medieval India (except perhaps the third or guild levies) though under different names.

There were, however, some differences. The standing army of the Sultans and the Emperors was small. The medieval army mostly consisted of the forces of the individual nobles or captains. There was no hereditary nobility in Mughal India. On the other hand the Muslims also had hired mercenaries, armies of a friendly power, captive soldiers of the enemy, deserters. The practice of using forest or hill men continued under the Mughals and the Marathas. Mirza Rajah Jai Singh sought to use them during his Deccan campaigns. The Marathas used the Ramoshis, Bhils, Kolis and other predatory tribes with their knowledge of forest by-ways

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<sup>4.</sup> Barani, 86; Tughluqnama, 48, 51, 52, 62; Adab, 158b; Afif, 436, 471,

<sup>5.</sup> Qureshi, op.cit., 144-145.

<sup>6.</sup> Elliot & Dowson, iii, 576.

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Under the Mughals individual troopers enlisted under some bigger or richer men, who in turn joined greater commanders.

The commanders of Mughal empire consisted of Mongols, Turks, Uzbegs, Persians, Afghans, Arabs, Rajputs and other Hindus and Feringhis. Officers of trust were not a monopoly of the Mughals only.

In the artillery both the Indian Mussalman and the Rajput soldiers were very inefficient in using fire arms. The Mughals at first depended on foreign Turks and Persians,-Rumi Khan, Ustad Ali Quli as under Babur. Among the 'many masters to be found among gunmakers' in Akbar's reign Abul Fazl mentions Ustad Kabir and Husayn. The Muslim (viz., Rūmi and Persian) gunners of Babur's days came to be replaced from the time of Akbar by foreigners, the Portuguese from Goa, half caste gunners and Feringhi mercenaries (from Bengal). After Goa fell into neglect and from about the middle of 17h century, European military adventurers began to come to Indian courts (e.g., the Venetian Manucci, the French Rene Medec and C. Perron, and Irishman George Thomas). Europeans were preferred because of their better marksmanship and alertness. In this way technical leadership passed from Muslim to Christian hands while at the bottom were the Indian Christians (topasses or Topchi).

The Maratha army of Shivaji was a national one. But under the Peshwas it came to consist of many non-Marathi elements—Rajputs, Sikhs, Arabs, Abyssinians, Siddis, Sindhis, Portuguese and Christians and Negro deserters of Goa. The employment of non-Marathi soldiers was first officially mentioned in a document of 1734-35. Sepoys trained in European fashion (called gardi from 'guard') were also employed. The Marathas also appointed European officers (Portuguese, English, Dutch and French e.g., De Boigne) and trained battalions.8

<sup>7.</sup> Bernier, pp. 3, 211; Sarkar, Mil. Hist., 150-3; Irvine, Army of the Indian Mughals, chapter xii.

<sup>8.</sup> Sen, Military System of the Marathas, chs. 1,4,7 Intro.

Organization of the Army Command: Army Officers:

In organization and methods military command differs in different states, but everywhere it encompasses all activities and problems connected with the preparation and conduct of war consideration of the aims and nature of the war, the direction concerning preparation, mobilization and deployment of the army and organization of military operations.

In modern times a good general staff to advise a general is considered to be the most useful part of military organization. In ancient and medieval India such an organization was not entirely unknown. There were certain officers of different grades to assist the commander-in-chief. Thus, Kautilya places below the trio of the senāpati, prasāsta and the nāyaka, some other officers in charge of the separate units of the four wings under mukhyas and adhyakshas. Under the Muslims there were besides the commander-in-chief, the 'ariz and the bakhshi.

What are the qualifications of a commander-in-chief? The most essential ones are: (a) first, courage, both moral and physical. The general must be capable of great resolution and must have no fear of danger. (b) second, some personal qualities like gallantry, sense of justice, firmness, uprightness, capacity to appreciate and utilise and not to be jealous of merit in others. (c) But above all, a general must possess 'great character'. Character is more important than intelligence in war. (d) Scientific and military knowledge: a general need not necessarily be vastly learned but he must be thorough and a perfect master of basic principles of the art of war. Proper performance of military command requires military education, the cannotation of which has chang-Before the Revolutionary epoch in Europe this implied actual participation in battle and knowledge of the practical methods of war. But in an age of expansive warfare study of the theoretical and historical aspects became a fundamental requisite. As Jomini observes: "Correct theories, founded upon right principles sustained to ples, sustained by actual events of wars and added to accurate military history military history, will form a true school of instruction for generals."

(e) Resides intelled to account the school of instruction for generals." (e) Besides intellectual capacity to know and understand strategy,

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<sup>9.</sup> Sokolovskii, 466-7; Jomini, ch. 8, p. 63.

ageneral must need have the capacity to control the human factor, i.e., leadership, but above all, character. To sum up, there must be a combination of intellect and natural leadership.

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It is indeed very surprising that such modern ideas could be traced in ancient and medieval Indian military thought. senapati of Kautilya was expected to have a complete mastery of the art of warfare in theory and practice and apply his knowledge of all military matters, training and fighting tactics etc. in directing the four wings of the army. Sukracharya also sounds an essentially modern note: "Those who are well up in Nitisastras, the use of arms and ammunitions, manipulations of battle arrays, and the art of management and discipline, who are not too young, but of middle age, who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their own duties, devoted to their masters and haters of enemies should be made commanders and soldiers whether they are Sudras and Kshatriyas, Vaisyas or descended from Mlechchas." This passage is highly significant as it emphasises that appointments in the military department should not be made on caste and religious consideraions. It emphasises the non-caste and secular character of the army and merit as the sole criterion of military service. Kamandaka recommends as follows: "A native of the land, versed in the theory and practice of counsel, in dandaniti, possessing virtuous qualities of heroism, energy and manliness, large-hearted and generous, a student of the sastras, one who has lew or no enemies but many friends and relatives, self-confident, and of towering personality, one fully acquainted with the actions of the four-fold forces of spies and scouts, skilled in all modes of warfare, one who is a linguist, and who has travelled to foreign countries and fully acquainted with the routes and roads therein, diplomat, one who evokes confidence from his own troops, one who can fight the enemy and protect his own army, who is able to detect fraud and disguises of spies and messengers, and ever loyal to his country'. This anticipated what Jomini, personifying the intellectual developments in war-machine in Napoleonic era, observed: "The union of wise theory with great character will constitute the great captain'.

Who will command the army?

Usually it is the head of the state who acts as the commander-in-chief. A masterful ruler or a military genius of the type of

Chandragupta Maurya, Samudragupta, Mahmud of Ghazni, Alauddin Khalji, Akbar, Shivaji, Baji Rao I, Nadir or Ahmad Shah Abdali, Frederick the Great, Peter the Great or Napoleon will like to be commanders themselves and appropriate for themselves the honour and glory of doing great feats. But if the ruler does not lead the army himself for any reason, his first duty is to select a capable commander-in-chief as a suitable substitute.

As a measure of policy Kautilya enjoins the king to have direct control of the army and lays down a chain of military command. The overall charge of the army was entrusted to three officers, the Senāpati, the prasāsta (in charge of sappers and miners) and the nāyaka (in charge of the camping arrangements). On striking the camp, the king occupied the middle position with the nāyaka in front and senāpati in the rear. The battle array was arranged by the two jointly. The application of the term commander-in-chief was rather loose. Normally he was a kshatriya but Brahmanas were sometimes appointed.<sup>10</sup>

Prophet Muhammad commanded half the number of jihads. A caliph could entrust military command to a commander-in-chief. It was of two kinds,—special and general. The special command dealt with military police only, and the special commander had, according to al Mawardi,—

(a) to lead the army, look after individual warriors, inspect horses and equipment;

(b) to conduct the war and encourage the army;

(c) to apply military skill and technique for victory, to defend the army from a sudden attack and to select the best possible strategic position for attack;

(d) to observe military duties, see that no soldier deserts the

army

The general command dealt with diplomatic and military matters, and included, besides the above noted duties, a mandate to negotiate peace, make treaties and direct division of war booty.<sup>11</sup>

10. Commander: Kautilya, viii. 2; 1, 9; 10.6.45; 2.33.9-10; 10.1.1; 10.24; Sukra, Sarkar's tr. ch. iv, sec. vii. lines 19-27; ch. ii, lines 276-80; 434; Kamandaka, 18.26-42; 19, 31-40., Ace. to Ranadipika ministerial advice was sought in war in ancient India till 12th c. A.D. and the number of councillors was not more than three.

11. Khadduri, Laws of War and Peace in Islam, 54-55.

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During the Sultanate period the Sultan was the commanderin-chief of the army. He often led it in person. In his absence a noble was appointed to do so and was called Sar-i-lashkar. But royal emblems, the Kawkabah and Sayaban signified the presence of the king to whom everyone was to remain loyal. If we believe the Fatawa-i-Qara Khani, a majority of the soldiers (ahl-i-lashkar) would not be legally bound to obey the order of the commander. which might cause endless loss of life.12

Vijayanagar borrowed the idea of the commander-in-chief (dandanayaka or dannayaka or senadhipati, later on called dalavāyi) from the Hoysalas. He had under him several nāyaks or officials. Vijayanagar had "a centralised military department" (Kandāchāra), having rules and customs, hierarchical organization of officers and numerous staff of persons who rendered indispensable services during a campaign. 13

The Mughal Emperor was the commander-in-chief in theory and practice. Under the Mughals a strong and energetic emperor used to lead his army. Sometimes, however, the emperor selected the commander-in-chief on particular campaigns. It was usual to send two commanders, one acting as a check on the other, as a safeguard against ambition or disloyalty. This, in practice, weakened the army by causing dissension.14

The need of consultation with advisers in civil and military matters alike was stressed by ancient and medieval writers and theorists. Long ago the epic statesman Bhīṣma made victory depend on deliberation and intelligence. Kamandaka advised consultation with wise and loyal men with experience of military science, as the power of ministerial deliberation was superior to brute force. But the war council was nothing but an advisory body.

The importance of consulting the military commanders even in civil appointments, namely that of the wazir, the chief civil dignitary, was stressed under the Samandis and later under the

14. Irvine, Army, 297-8.

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<sup>12.</sup> Adab, 205b, 206a; Is. Culture, 1937, pp. 461-2, based on Khazain, 50, 79, 82, 182 70, 79, 82, 139, 144, 147; Barani, 328, 24, 153; Quran Khwani, 305b, 306a.

<sup>13.</sup> Vijayanagar in Razzaq, E. & D., iv. 108. Saletore, I. 436, based on les. Numi-Paes, Nuniz, Barbosa and Sewell.

Mongols. There was a war council (majlis-i-maliki) to advise the commander during the Sultanate period and its members were called ra'izaman-i-lashkar and shared the responsibility of conducting the campaign. Foreign travellers like Barbosa and Nuniz refer to a war council consulted by the king of Vijayanagar, Ferishtah tells us that Deva Ray II (c. 1437-8) held a council of nobles and chief Brahmans to ascertain the causes of defeat of Vijayanagar at the hands of the Bahmani Kingdom notwithstanding its larger area, population, revenue and army. Leaving aside the fatalistic approach of some who ascribed the defeat to divine decree, we may consider two tangible explanations given. One was that the Muslim horses were stronger, and could endure more fatigue than the 'weak animals' of Karnatak. The second was that the Hindu archers were inferior to those of the Bahmani kingdom which had a large number of 'excellent archers'. Thereupon Deva Ray II enlisted many Muslims, granting them estates, building a mosque and placing a Koran before the throne to enable them to offer obeisance. Secondly, he made the Hindu soldiers learn the art of archery and collected 2,000 Muslims and 60,000 Hindus, all well-skilled in archery.

The practice of military consultation was also prevalent amon the Mongols and Turks in Central Asia. It was also followed by the Great Mughals in India. Shivaji also consulted his advisers and officers before taking any important decision. 15

### (b) The 'Ariz and the Bakhshi.

Under the Ghaznavides the 'Ariz, perhaps a Sassanian institution, ranked next to the wazir and his department (diwaniarz) directed the organization, commissariat, musters, annual reviews, and pay and allowances (bistagāni) of the army. There were subordinate officers, quartermasters '(arizs and katkhudas) in the provinces. These officers were usually held by Persians and not by Turks, as administrative rather than military ability was required here. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir described the procedure of inspection.

In the ministry of war of Delhi Sultanate (Diuan i 'arz) the 'ariz-i-mumalik (entitled Imad ul Mulk) was responsible for

15. Kamandaka, 12, 7; 13, 1-2; Barthold, Turkestan. 228-9; Barbosa, 224; Sewelf, 72, 324-5; Mahalingam, ch. 5; Briggs iii. 78-9; ii. 430-1.

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nilitary administration, recruitment, fixation and payment of slary, inspection or review (muster-rolls), supply, transport and commissariat. He accompanied the army as Quartermaster-General but did not direct war operations and policy. He was next to the Commander. He had no power to appoint, dismiss or promote his subordinates. 16

In the Mughal empire the officer responsible for military administration was the Mir Bakshshi or Bakhshi ul mumalik (lit. paymaster, but really Inspector General of the Forces, supported by assistant Bakhsis under Aurangzeb). He had to enlist soldiers, pay their salaries, draw up a scheme of offense, assign positions to each commander in different divisions and arrange for musters. There were Bakhsis in the provinces as well.<sup>17</sup>

#### (c) Leadership

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Notwithstanding the differences between western and Marxist-Leninist ideologies regarding the role of the general and of the people in war, the fact remains that the role of the general cantot be minimized. The supreme and decisive part which a general plays in war was emphasized very well by Napoleon: "In war men do not count; one man is all-important." 18

Similarly Timur observed: "One tried soldier of magnanimity, and of bravery, and of resolution, and of skill, and of circumspection is more valuable than a thousand men who want discretion and knowledge. For one experienced and able soldier can direct the efforts of thousands of thousands." And again, "...he only is equal to stations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hostile armies; who in the hour of battle giveth not his heart forth from his hand, nor permitteth apprehension and terror to take possession of his soul; who can direct the efforts

<sup>16.</sup> Ariz; Is. Culture, 1937, pp. 462-3, based on Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, 72, 108; Bosworth, 122-26; JIH. Apr. 1935, p. 12; Qureshi, Adm. Delhi Sult., vii.

<sup>17.</sup> Irvine, Army, 37-40; Qureshi, Adm. Mughal Emp. (1966); Sarkar,

<sup>18.</sup> Sokolovskii 495-7; Lachouque, op.cit., 454. The same idea is expressed differently: In War it is not men that count but the man'. Sarkar, Mil. Hist., 62.

of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confusion, can by abilities restore them to order.

He is capable of filling the station of chief of the Omraus, who is worthy of being my lieutenant in peace and in war; who can rule the armies with majesty and with authority; and who hath the vigour to chastize those who rise in opposition to his commands."19

Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamen mentions that a fundamental responsibility of a war 'captain' or commander-inchief in the true sense of the term is to produce the proper 'atmosphere' or to create a state of mind in which everybody-privates, commanders and staff may live and work. This may be done by taking his men into confidence and telling them the fundamentals of his policy and giving proper guidance and lead. This was done by Mir Jumla, the general of Aurangzeb on many occasions.

Another important way in which the proper 'atmosphere' can be created is by keeping the morale of the army alive. The true general has to foster among his own men the same zeal which he seeks to smother in the enemy. Here comes the need of propaganda in war. The general has to appeal to the psychology of his own men and consider their passions and feelings.

Mention may be made here of the part which eloquence plays in warfare. The addresses of ancients, of Chinghiz Khan, of Napoleon, of Paskevitch, Russian General, and Count of Suvorov, Russian Field-Marshall, and Sir Winston Churchill, may be cited as examples. During our period we may refer to the inspiring address of Babur on the eve of Khanwah (1527) and Mir Jumla's harangue after the flight of Prince Muhmmad Sultan to Shuja. Mir Jumla's tune is the same as that of Churchill.20

19. Davy & White, op.cit., pp. 7, 269.

20. Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, A History of Warfare (Collins, 1968), p. 16.

Aurangnamah, ff. 156-7, Mir Jumla, 162-3. Jomini and His Summary of the Art of War, ed. by Brig. Gen. J. D. ile, p. 54; M. Providio W. Leggett t. Hittle, p. 54; M. Prawdin, The Mongol Empire, Its Rise and Legacy, to by Eden and Cedar Part Manufecture, Its Rise and Napoleon's by Eden and Cedar Paul, London, 1952, p. 10; H. Lachouque, Napoleon's Battles, .... tr. by Roy Mr. Battles, .... tr. by Roy Monkton, London, 1964, p. 240.

Aurangnamah, 172-3; Mir Jumla, 166-168; Mir Muhammad Masun, bin Saleh, Taribi, Grandle, 166-168; Mir Muhammad Masun, bin Saleh, Gr Hasan bin Saleh, Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai. Sir Jadunath's transcript of India

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But every general may not necessarily be a great leader, merely because he is victorious. Leadership is a principal requisite of military success. For on the commander's qualities of leadership the control of the human factor in war directly depends. Successful leadership implies that the leader must be able to carry his men with him and make them understand his ideas, war aims and operations. At the same time it implies the ability to make a comprehensive and correct assessment of the entire situation and turn it into its own favour.20-a

The essential pre-requisites of military leadership are intellect, military education, exceptional qualities of character, strength of mind and soul, deep devotion to duty and all-round personality. A superior military leader requires these "heroic decisions based on reason" as the truest mark of superior leadership.21 Ziauddin Barani mentions ten qualities for (sari-i-lashkar): fear of God; loyalty to the King, balance of mind; nobility of birth (disorders arise if low-born men are appointed to high posts); faithfulness; experience of war; belonging to good tribe; courage and cleverness; generosity; truthfulness of speech and purity of mind.22 The Sukranitisara emphasizes agility, elasticity and flexibility on the part of a general. He must be stimulated by a powerful emotion. Motivation thus plays a great part in leadership.23 Caesar was fired by ambition, Hannibal by hatred of the enemy, Frederick the Great by pride in a glorious victory, Mir Jumla in Assam by ambition and the urge of self-preservation. Examples may be multiplied. Speaking of Central Asia Barthold writes of "the ideal of the hero of the steppe, with his irrepres-

Office Library Ms. 533. The author, an old servant of Shuja, wrote this history of Shuja's exploits. Written in 1070/1659-60. Ends abruptly on April 18, 1660. It was copied by Jadunath himself. See O.P.I. (Patna) Ms. p. 75a-b. Photostat copy shown to me by Muhammad Jawaid Iqbal, M.A. There is a verbal change here.

Aurangnamah, 188-93; Mir Jumla, 170-72.

20a. A few regulating principles notwithstanding, natural genius has the greatest part in the general conduct of a war.

Jomini, 43; Sokolovoskii, ch. 8. 466-7.

21. Clausewitz, Principles, pp. 12, 13-14 emphasizes that "no military der has over 15 pp. 12, 13-14 emphasizes that "no military leader has ever become great without audacity".

22. Barani, Fatawa-i-Jahandari, tr. Habib and Dr. Mrs. Afsar Umar Salim Khan, pp. 23-4.

23. Sukranitisara; Sarkar's tr. ch. IV, sec. VII; Manasollasa, vol. i, p. 37.

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sible valour, his unwavering fidelity to the head of his nation, and unlimited hospitality."24

The truth of Napoleon's statement can be illustrated in innumerable cases during medieval India. Dahir's ignorance, initial apathy, lack of leadership and foolish mistakes were largely responsible for the fall of Sind before the Arabs. Chandella Vidyadhar's resistance to Mahmud of Ghazni, one of the greatest military leaders of Asia, saved Central India. The bad leadership of Chalukyas of Gujrat led to the sack of Somnath (1026). Prithviraj neglected to utilise the advantage of victory after the first battle of Tarain and thereby allowed the tactical initiative to pass to his adversary. Alauddin and Kafur showed qualities of leadership, which were the despair of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz. While Babur was a military genius of first rank, neither Ibrahim Lodi nor Rana Sanga was able to show generalship and direction or ensure cohesion among their respective followers. The Turks were natural soldiers but they could fight under good generalship and Humayun was no leader. Sher Shah exemplified Napoleon's dictum in medieval India. Comparing Humayun and Shershah's leadership, Abbas writes: "Sher Khan knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Mughals had not extricated themselves from their camp, before the Afghan army were already upon them, and coming boldly on, attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye they routed the Mughal forces."25 Daulambapur (1612) illustrated that the character of the general decides the issue, other things being tolerably wellmatched.26 At Talikota (1565) true generalship overcame fourfold superiority in numbers. During the war of succession (1658-59) Aurangzeb's generalship proved to be superior to that of his rivals at Dharmat, Samugarh and Khajwa. Mir Jumla was not a whit behind his master in the art of generalship. At the same

24. Barthold, Turkestan, p. 43.

<sup>25.</sup> A. C. Banerji, Lectures on Rajput History, 78; Sarkar, Mil. Hist. 52; rikh-i-Sher Shahi F. 8 D. (411-12). Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, E. & D., iv. 375; Qanungo, Sher Shah, 1st edn. (411-12). In his 2nd edition (ch. In his 2nd edition (ch. x) Qanungo speaks of Sher's flexible strategy.

<sup>26.</sup> Mirza Nathan, Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, Eng. trans. M.I. Borah, I, 173; ckar, Mil. Hist., ch. 13. Historical Property of the Market of the Company of the Com Sarkar, Mil. Hist., ch. 13; History of Bengal. ii. 225.

time much of his spectacular success was due to his conducting war with humanity and justice in a degree unparalleled in that age. About Shivaji's qualities of leadership, Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: "He had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers while his dazzling victories and ever ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His royal gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success, as his selection of generals and governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault, and his administration was a great improvement on the past .... His inborn military genius is proved by his instinctively adopting that system of warfare which was most suited to the racial character of his soldiers, the nature of the country, the weapons of the age, and the internal condition of his enemies." Again Mirza Rajah Jai Singh possessed the essential requisites of leadership in full measure. He was, 'an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans, Turks, Rajputs and Hindusthanis, that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi." He not only showed great initiative even while serving under a hard taskmaster like Aurangazeb but could also boldly argue his case (e.g., terms of Shivaji's surrender) and justify his course of action when these ran counter to the Emperor's policy. He also possessed the supreme art of discernment and the royal gift of judging human character and of appreciating who was who.27

The best Muslim general of India during the first half of the 18th century was the Nizam-ul-mulk, out-shining his rivals in planning, command over men and management of complicated problems with tact and promptitude. Ratanpur (1719), Balapur (1720) and Shankar Khera (1724) illustrated his qualities as a general. Moreover his toreign officers were more enlightened, better educated and cleverer than those of his rivals. His force Was a 'corps of captains'.28 Yet he was defeated by Baji Rao I. of the latter it has been said: "The victory of Bhopal marks the zenith of the Peshwa's triumphant career .... By defeating

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<sup>27.</sup> Robert Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, First Indian Edn., 1962, Pp. 194-195; Sarkar, Aurangzib, ii; Shivaji, 104, 383-84; Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M. Haft Aniuman, 56b. Sarkar, Mir Jumla, ch. 8, Mil. Despatches, 138, based on Haft Anjuman, 56b. 28. Yousuf Husain Khan, 247-8; Sarkar, Mil Hist., ch. 19.

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the confederate armies at Bhopal the Peshwa established the supremacy of Maratha arms in India and announced the birth of a new Imperial Power. (Dighe).<sup>29</sup> But he made the mistake of not pursuing the Nizam. Alivardi of Bengal was an effective military leader. Ghulam Husain mentions that he "had not his equal in the art of ranging an army in battle and in choosing a post."<sup>30</sup> Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali were the greatest Asian generals of their times. Sadashiv Rao Bhao failed miserably as general.<sup>31</sup>

#### 5. Decimal System

What little is known about the military organization of ancient Hindus would show that there were sections, platoons and brigades. The army was based on a decimal system of organization which was known to them. According to Kautilya the army units in ascending order were (i) a squad of ten chariots and 10 elephants under a padika, (ii) a platoon of a hundred (i.e., ten padikas) under a senapati, (iii) a regiment of one thousand (i.e., ten senapatis) under a nayaka (géneral). The decimal system was also the one common characteristic of military organisation among the early Muslims, the Ghaznawids, the Mongols, the Turks and the Indian Mughals.

The army of the Sultanate (1206-1526) was hierarchically arranged under commanders of different grades. But their exact nature is not very clear. According to Barani, Bughra Khan advised Kaiqubad to keep a large army organised on the old Persian model. The lowest unit was 10 horsemen under a Sar-i-Khail, and then through Sipah salar (100), amir (1,000), malik (10,000), the highest was 100,000 under a Khan. But Qalqashandi, the fourteenth century Egyptian writer, thinks that there were only four grades, the Khan being commander of 10,000 horses, and the lowest the sipahsalar of less than 100. There are other ranks occasionally mentioned by other writers, e.g., 'arif

<sup>29.</sup> Dighe, Baji Rao, 149; H. N. Sinha, Rise of the Peshwas; Sarkar, Mil. Hist., ch. 20.

<sup>30.</sup> Siyar ul Mutakharin ii, 52; K. K. Dutta, Alivardi & His Times (1963), 139; Sarkar, History of Bengal, ii, 448

<sup>31.</sup> Irvine, Later Mughals, ed. by Sarkar, ii. 317-8; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, ii, ch. xxi; Sardesai, op. cit.

(commanding 10, 30 or 40); Khalifa or amir-i-panjah, 50; naqib, 100; Sarhang, 500; muqaddam commanding a large (but unspecified) force.

The Surs under Islam Shah had army commanders from 50 to 20,000. But the entire military system came to be reorganised by Akbar. His mansabdari system (1573-4) with 66 grades ranging from commanders of 10 (mirdah, later twenty, or bisti) to 10,000 (later 12,000), was also based on the decimal system.<sup>32</sup>

### 6. The Mansabdari System

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To understand the Mughal military system in India we have to go back to the days of Timur and even of Chinghiz Khan. For it was a story of gradual improvement of organization and technique, subject to some modifications. In fact the Mughal military organization was "Turkish in origin and maintained its Turkish character till the end." A compound of Mongol, Chinese and Tartar elements, it reflected the traditions of Chinghiz and Timur. Chinghiz Khan (1154-1227), Asia's World conqueror, conquering almost half of the known world, "grafted a wise, subtle and shrewd Chinese head on to the thickset Mongol body." He united innumerable savage pagan hordes (Tartars or Moghuls), Turks and other Scythian races, all enjoying religious toleration but subject to an iron discipline and strict organization. 'The 'Golden Horde', as his army was called, consisting exclusively of cavalry in practice, was well-disciplined, well-organised and well-trained while leadership was youthful and superb. The inexorable war machine of Chinghiz Khan, a fusion of Mongol and Chinese principles, was based on five fundamentals:

(i) It was properly graded: Regular division of the soldiers into squadrons (each of 10 men under a captain), compact regiments (Kushun, each of 10 squadrons under a centurion, nominally 1000) and brigades or divisions (tuman, the largest independent unit, each of 10 regiments, i.e., nominally 10,000), corresponding to cavalry divisions of later periods, each with a head or commander. But this was a feature of all nomadic nations which Chinghiz

<sup>32.</sup> Decimal System: Kautilya, 10.6.45; Is. Culture 1937, 463-4, based on Barani, 145, 376 Qalqashandi Jurji Zaydan. 178; Adab 144b, 194-6, Yahya 78; Nazim, 142; Surs in Abbas and Badaoni.

inherited from before. The army (30,000) usually consisted of three tumans under three commanders.

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- (ii) Order and discipline: A soldier leaving one general and joining with another was executed before the army and the general who welcomed the deserter was severely punished. Precise regulations were laid down for royal hunting excursions, which, among the Mongols, were not only pastimes, but also means of supply as well as military manoeuvres and inexorable schools of discipline. Violation of hunting regulations meant death sentence. Further, everybody was responsible under pain of death for the safety and honour of his subordinates.
- (iii) a thoroughly dependable and highly efficient body (corps d'elite) of brave royal bodyguards. The guard was organised successively in 1203 and 1206 and was subject to severe discipline.
- (iv) Selection of able lieutenants: Most of Chinghiz Khan's generals were selected from the guard. Naturally the leadership of his army throughout his vast empire rested on men, already personally tested by himself. The successful record of his generals indicates with what art and knowledge of men Chinghiz selected his lieutenants. The masses were merely an instrument in their hands.
- (v) Incredible mobility or rapidity of movements: Chinghiz constituted his empire on an aristocratic basis. As an aristocratic family or clan is the head of a tribe, so in his organisation the "golden clan" (altan uruk) with all vassals and followers was the head of all Mongol tribes, of all "generations living in full tents, of all peoples of all the world." Thus Chinghiz's army contained the seeds of the idea of military aristocracy, the prototype of the Mughal mansabdari system. "Quality rather than quantity was the secret of their amazingly rapid sequence of successes. Alone of the armies of their time had they grasped the essentials of strategy, while their tactical mechanism was so perfect that the higher conceptions of tactics was unnecessary." (Liddell Hart). Black and white flags regulated battlefield manoeuvres, eliminating oral or written orders. Mobility, speed and the shock effect of the first two of five lines of horsemen with leather armour and sabres and lances were the main factors. A master strategist and tactician, Chinghiz knew how to organise the army, use spies and propa-

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## MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA 579

gandize enemy peoples. The Mongol army displayed a capacity for synchronizing the arrival of various columns at one place miles distant "which would be brilliant even in the age of radio and telephone." The leaders used ruses to win victories and showed fine strategic sense in selecting distant battlefields.

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The age of Timur was more civilized and his political system was also more stable than that of Chinghiz. Timur's Chaghtai or eastern Turks had the fiery zeal of neoconverts to Islam. Contact with the Muslim world enabled him to harness the services of learned men of Persia, Arabia and Egypt. A ferocious cripple though he was, this first rate military genius "organised the administration and the army on rational basis", with 92 squadrons, each of one thousand armour-clad cavalry. Like Chenghiz he collected a band of able and dependable lieutenants, imitated and even improved upon the Mongol tactics of frightfulness, raising pyramids of human skulls or burying thousands alive for their brave but sinful resistance. Timur's tactical mechanism never equalled the Mongol system. But he added a genius for war unequalled by any Mongol to the traditional mobility and hardihood of the Turks. Capable of tactical dispersion and concentration his cavalry completely disconcerted enemy plans. His strategy consisted in seizing the initiative by "swift movements and sharp decisive blows." His incredibly swift and hardy cavalry could breast streams and build bridges of wood and boats. Reconnaissance for selecting sites preceded battle, while the arrows served as long-range missiles. Throughout his career his approach was unerring and his enemies were forced to take his offensive at a disadvantage. This joint Mongol and Turkish inheritance of Babur was further strengthened by artillery borrowed from the Persians. But this powerful, first rate Mughal army came to be impaired under Humayun.

At first Akbar did not maintain a large standing army but depended on contingents,—men and horses, supplied by his commanding officers, consisting of Mongols, Turks, Uzbegs, Persians, Afghans and Indians and enjoying assignments of land instead of salaries. So it was not a homogeneous force. There was no organization, regimental or otherwise. But this military aristocracy proved to be recalcitrant, rebellious and corrupt keeping less than the scheduled number of men and horses. It was necessary to create a unitary and disciplined force as an effective instrument of

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war. In theory all able-bodied citizens were potential soldiers of the empire. Abul Fazl estimated the total effective manpower at about 44 lakhs. But in practice there were well-defined rules of recruitment and the numbers actually enrolled were regulated by an elaborate system. Akbar's mansabdari system (1573-4) introduced a revolutionary change in the character and organization of the army. It made the army organization more complicated vastly expanded the size of the army and reshaped the art of warfare in medieval India. The system became fully developed and universal by the end of Shahjahan's reign. The 'most remarkable characteristic' of the Mughal army, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, was that "in its pristine purity it harnessed the rude vigour of the nomads of the prairies to a highly intellectual organization, guided at the top by the most civilized of the Asiatic races, the Persians." Rooted in Mongol and Turkish elements, the system was 'the army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one'. In its palmy days the army, with its sense of discipline and cooperation under the inspiring presence of a strong ruler, proved superior in organisation and discipline to the clan levies of the Hindus. Each distinct platoon or group of troopers under a separate commander held "its allotted place in a duly graded series of ranks from a company to an army division" and could be smoothly moved to a new position, if necessary, like pawns in the chess-board of war, without disturbing the tide of combat.33

33. Mansabdari system,

For the Mongols and the Turks, Lynn Montross, op. cit., 147-9, 218 ff; B. Y. Vladimirstov, Life of Chinghiz Khan, 65-66; Howarth, History of Mongols, Part I, Ch. 3 (Chinghiz), Part IV, pp. 81-85 (Army); for Chinghiz's three commanders, one, Muquli, commanded the left or eastern wing (among the Mongols the south was regarded as the most honourable side): the second, Bughurji, commanded the right or western wing: the third, Naya, commanded the central troops. In Rashid-ud-din Naya is mentioned only as Muquli's assistant; Bughurji-noyon likewise had an assistant but the corresponding title, so far as is known, is not met with in Mongol sources. Barthold, Turkestan, 386; Encyclopaedia of Islam, ii. 858 (art. on Chinghiz Tabaqat-Nasiri; Gibbon, Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. 64; Elias & Ross, and Legacy; Sykes, History of Persia, ii. 85.

"As regards the Tartar army which every day and all day waits on the orders of Timur following his Highness wheresoever he goes, this is organized after the following fashion. The host is divided into Captaincies;

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#### MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA 581

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In the Maratha Swarajya, all soldiers (musketeers, spearmen, archers or swordsmen) were recruited only after a careful personal inspection by Shivaji himself or taking security for every new soldier from men already in service. He established unity of command in the army by establishing a regular cadre for infantry and cavalry alike. But he avoided it in the forts. Shivaji realised the potenital dangers of forts in the country. He demolished all adulterine castles and even banned private houses with bastions. Every fort (and thanah) was placed under three officers of equal status, the havaldar, the head of the garrison, the sabnis, in charge of accounts and sar-i-naubat, who were to act jointly,-to prevent treachery. The first and the third were of Maratha caste and the second, a Brahman,—one caste acting as a check on the other: the commissariat stores and provisions were under a Kayastha officer,

and there are captains of one hundred and of one thousand and of ten thousand men. Over the whole force is a single commander in chief, as with us may be the constable of castile. When any warlike expedition is on foot these captains each are called on, and by the number sent for it is known how great the force assembled is to be. At the present day the commander in chief of Timur's armies is Jahan Shah Mirza (his nephew)... It is the custom of Timur to give in charge his stud of horses and his great flocks of sheep each to some one of his nobles who must see to their wants, giving pasture in the lands they personally possess. One noble thus may have in charge a thousand head of cattle and another ten thousand. If when the time comes for Timur to regain possession of his own it should appear that the number falls short or that their condition anywise be wanting his Highness will seize whatsoever that lord may possess and very probably in addition put him to death, for such is his rule and ordinance." His Justice & Order, Ibid, 294.,

Clavijo, Embassy to Tamarlane, p. 300.

Encyclo. Britannica, xv, 706-708 (art. by Captain Liddel Hart); Davy &

White, op. cit., 133 229-336, 275-300, 373-407.

The speed of Timur's cavalry was 150 miles in 24 hours, and 80 miles a day for a week. Aziz, the Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, pp. 1, 13; Aziz, thinks that the Mongol invasions to India probably helped to disseminate Mongol principles of recruitment and organisation: Mclfuzut-Timuri, E. & D., iii, 402 f; Zafarnama of Sharfuddin Yazdi, E & D., iii; Davy and White, Institutes of Timur, pp. 33-35.

Irvine, Army, ch. i-iv; Sarkar, Mil. Hist., 46; 'Aziz, The Mansabdari

System and the Mughal army, p. 1.

It was a common imagery of those days to compare the battlefield with thess-board, cf. Amir Khusrau, Tarikh-i-Alai, E. & D., iii. 73.

Karkhanis. Every fort had one or more Tat Sarnaubat according to size. He also provided against the danger of vested interests (as for example, the hereditary naikwaris in Bijapur) by not recognising any hereditary rights in forts, transferring the officers from one fort to another and his civil governors from one district to another and ministers from one post to another. Nevertheless treason and corruption could not be eradicated.34

#### 8. The Sikhs

It was Guru Govind who first completed the transformation of the Sikhs into a militant power. He abolished caste and creed. laid down certain restrictive regulations in matters like food and dress, and established the Khalsa, a brotherhood in arms, an armed democratic community.

Banda adopted guerilla tactics and did not face the imperialists in an open battle. After Banda the army was divided into two groups, the Budha Dal (i.e., Elder) and the Taruna Dal (i.e., younger), comparable to early Roman army. The younger was sub-divided into 5 (five) jathas, the elder was placed under certain commanders.

During 1739-45 the Sikhs were organised in small plundering bands under individual leaders. The existing sixty-five groups came to be leagued together in 11 main divisions or jathas in 1748. Thus was organised in a federal union the Dal Khalsa, the army of theocracy of the Singhs. Its leader was regarded as the head of the Church and the State. During the anarchy and confusion of the mid-eighteenth century the Sikhs guaranteed the person and property of the villagers who placed themselves under the Dal Khalsa by paying one-fifth of their income twice a year. known as the Rakhi system or Jamdari. The Sikh associations came to be called misls, each group being a confederacy of equals under a chief of its own selection and all forming one commonwealth.35

34. Marathas, Sen, op. cit., chs. 1,4,5,6.

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<sup>35.</sup> For the Sikhs, Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, vols. 5 and 6; Cunningham, story of the Sikha Luis Khales. History of the Sikhs; Irvine, later Mughals; I. B. Banerji Evolution of Khales, vol. 2; Sir J. N. Saylor. vol. 2; Sir J. N. Sarkar, Aurangzib, voi. 3; N. K. Sinha, Rise of the Sikh Power; Raniit Singh, H. Singh, Voi. 3; N. K. Sinha, Rise of the Sikh Power; Ranjit Singh; H. R. Gupta; Polier's Account. Khuswant Singh, History of the Sikhe 1962. History of the Sikhs, 1963, Vol. I, 1469-1839, chs. 5, 6, 7.

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The Ahoms had a 'highly organised, well-equipped and disciplined army', which extracted unstinted praise from their Mughal adversaries. All adults (except certain specified classes like nobles, priests and high caste men) were liable to serve as labourers or soldiers. They were known as Paiks, arranged by Rhels with a hierarchy of officers, Bora commanding 20 paiks, Saikia (100), Hazarika (1000), Rajkhowa (3000) and a Phukan (6000). At first the king depended on three Gohains. Later new officers were appointed.<sup>36</sup>

#### 10. Discipline

The value of discipline in an army has been emphasized by Jomini in an immitable passage: "Concert in action makes strength: order produces this concert, and discipline ensures order; and without discipline and order no success is possible." It was not unknown to ancient and medieval theorists and rulers in India. Kautilya ascribes the duty of maintaining discipline to the commander-in-chief and thinks it possible to enthuse even the timid by discipline and training. He prohibited disputes, drinking and holding of merry gatherings and gamblings. The Sukranitisara has some verses on discipline by advocating a respectful distance between civilian population and the military, physically and socially, banning all credit transactions as also the need of keeping arms, weapons and uniforms bright.<sup>37</sup>

In the Sultanate period discipline was maintained by the king or the commander issuing needful instructions and warnings directly or through naqibs and Khalifas. Violaters were punished immediately as a warning to others. In the Mughal empire apart from mounting guard of nobles (chaukis), ceremonial parades, reviews, hunting or sword play or horsemanship of individuals, regular drill or manoeuvres seemed to have been absent. There was no uni-

<sup>36.</sup> Ahoms, Gait, 252; Atan Burha Gohain and His Times, 40, quotes the view of Rashid Khan about the efficiency of the Ahom army.

<sup>37.</sup> Discipline: Jomini, 52, 158-9; Cambridge, op. cit., xxxvi-xxxvii; Kautilya, tr. 354; Sukra, Sarkar's tr. ch. IV, sec. vii, lines 763-4, 775, 777-8; treacherous soldiers; Kane, III, ch. 8, pp. 207-8.

formity in dress, no regimental organsiation, no training in combined movements.<sup>38</sup>

What Jomini has observed about the effects of indiscipline (and lack of courage) among the troops and the envy and deception of subordinate officers, even where the general is a competent strategist and tactician, applies equally well to the case of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh in Bijapur (1665-7) who found his "fine hopes fade away." His "admirable combinations" only diminished "the disasters of an almost unavoidable defeat". His despatches show that even as early as the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign sound discipline was lacking in Aurangzeb's army. It did not act in unison. Jai Singh had to suffer beyond measure on account of the recalcitration, non-co-operation and insubordination lieutenants, Dilir Khan, Daud Khan and Qutbuddin. They were sincere and devoted but at times allowed their personal considerations to override the wider interests of the empire. The first showed disaffection against Jai Singh, while the other two were recalcitrant during the Bijapuri siege of the Mughal post of Mangalbira (Feb., 1666). The qiladar of Parenda showed disloyal negligence causing dislocation of supplies of provisions. Hindu captains also (Manohardas Gaur and Amar Singh Rathor) also showed indiscipline. Among the Indian Mughals discipline, judged by European standards, was 'extremely lax, if not entirely absent'. A jagir being an imperium in imperio, Akbar's policy was anti-jagir. Mansabdars were paid in cash, wherever possible But payments were usually made in jagir, with imaginable consequences on discipline of the army and financial resources of the State, especially after Aurangzeb's death.39

The initial successes of the Marathas over contemporary Muslim states were due to superior discipline. Shivaji abolished jagirs and heritability of jurisdictions. Discipline was strictly maintained. There was a ban on the presence of women in the army, which was enforced under pain of capital punishment. This absence of women is attested by Dr. Fryer and Biship Navarette It compares very favourably with presence of women in Mughal

38. Qureshi, op. cit., 143, based on Amir Khusrau, Khazain, 101-2; Afil, 369. 370. 95-6, 276, 193-4, 220-1

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<sup>39.</sup> For the Mughals, HA, 82b, 93a; 73b-74a; My Mil. Despatches, 32-3, 142; Irvine, Army, ch. xv, pp. 23, 25.

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# MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA 585

mps and siddis. Women, Brahman and cows were not to be plested. Khafi Khan bears testimony to Shivaji's scrupulous and all to a lesser extent kept a balance between war and iplomacy. But there was an excess of finesse and intrigue among iper-day Marathas which proved hollow.

Shivaji's military organization continued under Shambhaji ad Rajaram (at Jinji) under whom the state of Maratha army as described by Francois Martin in 1692. But with gradual gransion of empire and acquisition of wealth, the Marathas began imitate the Mughals and discipline became lax. Under Shahu march of the Maratha army resembled a Mughal ceremonial mcession rather than a military expedition. However, the Uratha system at its best was illustrated by Baji Rao's northern medition (1740). After Shahu the Peshwa became the military had of the state. The needs of the army were supplied by the amp bazaar, a source of revenue to the Maratha chieftains. Unke Shivaji's times, the Peshwa's camp was full of women and mimals (like asses, camels and bullocks used for transport). The sate of moral laxity among the Marathas was reflected in the Bargi raids into Bengal. The state of discipline in Indian armies bout mid-eighteenth century is succinctly put by Cambridge when remarks that without discipline "numbers are but an impediment and bravery ineffectual".40

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Well organised military espionage or strategic intelligence in leace and war alike makes rational war preparations possible. It supplies various kinds of information about the potential enemy's plans and capacity, ensures adoption of precautionary measures, political, economic and military, before aggression and helps proper decision in conducting operation.

Jomini prescribed five means for getting information of the memy for planning an offensive: (i) efficient and properly orgalised espionage system, (ii) aggressive reconnaissance by skilful fivers and light troops, (iii) enquiries from war prisoners (but

<sup>40.</sup> For the Marathas, Sen, Mil. Sys. Marathas, chs. 1 and 8; Fryer and avarette, quoted in Orme, HFM, 91.

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not free from danger), (iv) forming probable hypotheses, the ability of the general to do so, constituting the real secret of mile. ability of the general to do so, None might be reliable, but none tary genius, and (v) signals. None might be reliable, but none was to be neglected.

Military strategic intelligence is now mainly collected by sec. ret agencies working within a state or its borders, legal foreign intelligence agencies (attaches officials through personal observation, visits, etc.), reconnaissance and 'information analysis service' studying and processing the open sources of foreign states. There are also arrangements for naval intelligence with similar methods.41

In medieval India, the necessity of getting and using strategic intelligence was fully understood, though it was not as ramified as in modern times. Spies played an important role in civil and military affairs alike in ancient and medieval India. They were regarded as the 'eyes of the king' just as Hobbes describes them. Their activities covered not only the length and breadth of the country like the 'Mysterious thread' of China but also foreign states. The pattern of espionage in early medieval India was set by the Kautilyan system and the ordinances of Manu which wery p were generally followed by later Hindu theorists. Kautilya distinguishes five institutes of espionage, members of which were sent over the country and reported by means of signs or writing (samajna lipi) or cypher writing (gudhalekhya). Spies sent to foreign kingdoms were known as ubhayavetans. Spies also discovered spies of foreign kingdoms. Kautilya recommends a regular secret service department, utilising the services of spies, prostitutes, artisans, actors and singers constantly ensuring the loyalty of the soldiers. Manu advises the king to constantly as certain the strength of the enemy as well as his own through spies through display of energy and through actual conduct of operaknow the stand should not know his weak points, but he must know the weakness, the weak points of the enemy: he should guard the departments (of government) as the tortoise does its limbs; and he should guard his own weak points."42

<sup>41.</sup> Sokolovskii, Strategy, ch. 8, 446-8 & ff; Jomini, 141, 20: 'Military elligence' by Major Co. C. h. 8, 446-8 & ff; Jomini, 141, 20: 'Military Intelligence' by Major Gen. S. N. Anita in The Statesman, dated 17-6-70.

<sup>42.</sup> Ancient and early medieval system in Kautilya, Bk. V. ch. 346. I, chs. 11, 12, 14, 16, 19. Bk. I, chs. 11, 12, 14, 16; Bks. VII, X, XVII; Jha, Manusmriti, vol. 3 (Pt. 2).

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### MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA 587

Under the Sultanate, apart from scouts (talai'ah or yazkis), light troops, described as 'eyes of an army', who were taught reconnoitre and bring news, there were spies who used to go nd mix with the enemy and worm out secrets. This exactly plicipates the prescriptions of Jomini.

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Before entering a new land spies used to collect information but the enemy. The plans of the imperial army were sought be concealed from the enemy. The Barid-i-mamalik in charge the Department of Intelligence and Posts, was subordinate to wazir and used to send information to the Sultan, who was informed about the state of the route of any proposed invain. A chain of post-houses, built at intervals, where carriers, birse and foot were kept ready for letters, connected the capital ith far-off places of the empire. A Master of Posts and Intelliy were lence (Sahib-i-barid-i-lashkar), attached to every army, sent reorts to the capital. Speaking of Alauddin's system Barani writes: of the It was the practice of the Sultan, when he sent an army on an foreign apedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning from Tilpat, which is the first stage. At which every post relays of horses were stationed, and at every half or ya disquarter kos runners were posted, and in every town or place there horses were posted, officers and report-writers were apwinted. Every day, or every two or three days, news used to ome to the Sultan reporting the progress of the army, and ineligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. lalse news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city in the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the ourt on one side, and the army on the other, was a great public About Muhammad Tughluq's espionage, we learn from information of the learned Siraju-d din Abu-s Safa 'Umar habali. It appears that "the Sultan is very anxious to know all passes in his territories, and to understand the position of all

<sup>\$</sup> C. Vidyarnan 49; vol. 5, Discourse IX, v. 298, p. 222; Yajnavalkya in C. Vidyarnava, ch. 13, vv. 328-32. Ordinances of Manu (Burnell & Hopbis), vv. 154 ff. p. 167 (spies and behaviour of neighbouring states); Kaman-ka, XIII of (spies and behaviour of neighbouring states); Kamanka, XIII, 25-49; Yuktikalpataru, pp. 9-10; Nitivalyamrita, pp. 53-55; deni p. 220, 20-22; 241, 11-13; Rajatarangini, vi. 171, vii. 629, 1016, 1045, viii.

<sup>43.</sup> Nazim, Sultan Mahmud, 141; Adab, 192b, 193; Qureshi, Adm. Delhi, 143. Eult. 143.

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those who surround him, whether civilians or soldiers. He has emissaries, called intelligencers, who are divided into a great num. ber of classes. One goes among the soldiers and people. When any fact which ought to be communicated to the Sultan comes to his notice, he reports it to the officer above him; this one, in like manner, communicates it to his superior; and so in due course the fact comes to the knowledge of the Sultan. For communicating the events which happen in distant provinces, there are established between the capital and the chief cities of the different countries, posts, placed at certain distances from each other, which are like the post-relays in Egypt and Syria; but they are less wide apart, because the distances between them is not more than four bow-shots, or even less. At each of these posts ten swift runners are stationed, whose duty it is to convey letters to the next station without the least delay. As soon as one of these men receives a letter, he runs off as rapidly as possible, and delivers it to the next runner, who starts immediately with similar speed, while the former returns quietly to his own post. Thus a letter from a very distant place is conveyed in a very short time with greater celerity than if it had been transmitted by post, or by camel express. At each of these post-stations there are mosques, where prayers are said, and where travellers can find shelter, reservoirs full of good water, and markets where all things necessary for the food of man and beast can be purchased, so that there is very little necessity for carrying water, or food, or tents."44

"All through the country which separates the two capitals of the empire, Delhi and Deogir, the Sultan has had drums placed at every post-station. When any event occurs in a city, or when the gate of one is opened or closed, the drum is instantly beaten. The next nearest drum is then beaten, and in this manner the Sultan is daily and exactly informed at what time the gates of the most distant cities are opened or closed.45

Regarding Sher Shah, Abbas writes: "For the enforcement of the regulations which he had published for the protection of the people, Sher Shah sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles, in order that inquiring and secretly ascertaining all circumstances relating to the nobles, their soldiers, and the people,

TFS, E. & D., iii. 203: JIH Apr. 1935, pp. 9-15.
 Masalik ul-Absar, etc. E. & D., 111. 581-2.

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bey might relate them to him; for the courtiers and ministers, by purposes of their own, do not report to the king the whole the of the kingdom, lest any disorder or deficiency which may have found its way into the courts of justice should be correct-About Islam Shah, Abdullah writes: "His father had erectad sarais at a distance of one kos one from the other. Islam Shah wilt others between them, so that there was a sarai, at every half kos. He caused two horses and some footmen to be stationed it each sarai, for the purpose of acting as posts and bringing him very day the news from Bengal, after the manner of dakchaukis."47

In the Mughal Empire the intelligence department, forming branch of the postal department, worked under the darogha-ilarkarah. There were four classes of reporters in Mughal India, iz, the Wagianavis or Wagianigar (news-writers) the Khufia movis, the Sawanihnigar and the harkara. Sir Jadunath Sarkar held that the harkaras, the most secret class of spies, carried oral news. But from the Haft Anjuman it appears that they sent written reports also. Reporters (waqianavises) and spies were attached to all expeditionary forces and embassies to foreign countries. Two spies sent to Bengal told Babur that "Bengalees" under Makhdum-i-Alam were raising defences in twentyfour places on the Gandak where they were posted. Aurangzeb's embassy to Persia was accompanied by a waqianavis and Khufianavis. Shihabuddin Talish, Mir Jumla's Waqianavis, left an account of the conquest of Kuch Bihar and Assam in the Fathiyya-i-Ibriyya.48

The Marathas and the Sikhs also had their military espionage. Under the Marathas there were regular news-writers of the camp,

<sup>46.</sup> Tarikh-i-Sher Shai, E. & D., iv. 425.

<sup>47.</sup> Tarikh-i-Daudi, E. & D., iv. 479. According to Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan lodi, "in order to insure regularity of despatch, every day a turban of Sunargaon and a handful of fresh rice were delivered to the king, wherever be might be, by the dak-chauki establishment." Ibid, n.

Timur's regulations regarding intelligence and espionage, in Davy & White, cit., 180 op. cit., 169, 349-55.

<sup>48.</sup> J. N. Sarkar, Mughal Adm. (1963), 61-64. For a critical account of System. the System with its merits and defects, see Jagadish Marayan Sarkar, 'News-writers in Marayan Sarka Writers in Mughal India' in The Indian Press. ed. by Dr. S. P. Sen, 1968 (Calcutta) (Calcutta). For despatches see also 'Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General' by the same author, 141-2.

independent of military commanders. They reported to the king or the Waqnis, Wagainavis, or Mantri (a member of the Ashta Pradhan Council) who was in charge of the intelligence department. Shivaji had a department of scouts (jasuds) under an exceptionally able chief scout Bahirji Jadhav, whose knowledge of byways was largely responsible for not only Shivaji's success but also safety. In the Peshwa-period also they acted as scouts in each army as well as mail-bearers (moving day and night in pairs, jasudjodi and kasidjodi). They were helped by village headmen and district officers and could use cottage and rest houses on the highways, using camel riders for sending urgent messages. G. H. Khare has found much first-hand material in diplomatic correspondence, envoys' reports and newsletters. There are also numerous news-letters in Persian and Marathi in various daftars (e.g., Chandrachud, Hingane, Dabhada, Purandare, stored in B.I.S. Mandala, Nana Phadnis daftar in Deccan College and Peshwa, Parasnis and other Daftars in Alienation office, Poona). There was a firm of Khemkaran wald Manasaram (perhaps from the Punjab) at Delhi. His agents were posted at all important places in N.India and also at places like Kabul, Bukhara, Balkh and Qandahar. The news collected was edited and sent to different courts including the Peshwa's,49

Among the Ahoms too, there were trained spies or secret service men whose duty was to watch and report the dispositions, movements and strategy of the enemy. For carrying messages to foreign states and transacting diplomatic matters with the enemy there were royal agents or messengers known as Katukis. The nature of their duties required them to be not only intelligent and tactful but thoroughly honest as well. Military manoeuvres or activities to be not only tivity depended on their reports. The Kakatis served as writers,

#### Diplomatic Corps 12.

Diplomatic espionage was fully known. There were both ambassadors (duta) an spies (chara). Kautilya mentions three classes of ambassadors nisrstartha (performing miscellaneous func-

50. Gait, Hist. of Assam, 240; S. K. Bhuyan, Asom Buranji, 60-1.

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<sup>49.</sup> Sen, Adm. Sys. Marathas, 52; Mil. Sys. 138; J. N. Sarkar, Persian cords of Maratha History Records of Maratha History, vol. I, Delhi Affairs; G. H. Khare, "Newswriters of Medieval Period" in C. D. Delhi Affairs; G. H. Khare, of Medieval Period" in S. P. Sen (ed.) The Indian Press, 146-50.

#### MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA 591

tions, and qualified as ministers), parimitartha (entrusted with a single mission) and sasunchara (carriers of royal writs). Similarly the Agnipurana also mentions three classes of envoys and prefers diplomacy to war. The ambassador acts as an open spy. The Kamandakaniti follows them and mentions the duties of these agents: -to survey the strength of Antapalas and Atavika princes on way to the enemy's kingdom, know the extent of enemy's army, treasury, forts and weak spots. According to Sukranitisara, an ambassador is one of 10 main ministers. He should be loyal, capable of reading the signs, demeanour and behaviour of the adversary, skilled in all arts and sciences, eloquent and devoid of fear.

Ambassadors played an important part in ancient Indian diplomacy and war but were not permanent agents in foreign courts. Rajaraja (acc. 985 A.D.) punished those who had insulted his ambassador.51

In Islamic countries also there were arrangements for diplomatic intercourse primarily religious (under the Prophet) and political (under the Umayyads and Abbasids). But commercial relations with non-Muslim countries (i.e., world of war) were to he avoided as much as possible though this was permitted by Abu Yusuf. The jurist Malik, following Abu Yusuf, advises appointment by the Caliph of officials on "the borders of the world of Islam to prevent believers from going to the world of war", though non-Muslim traders might come to the world of Islam."

Emissaries were not to be executed, Envoys and diplomatic missions enjoyed immunity. Even without aman an infidel official messenger would be unmolested.52

'Alauddin Khalji violated the prevalent diplomatic etiquette. The Mongol ruler, Uljaitu Sultan, was anxious to resume the older diplomatic relations which had not been renewed by the latter. But the Mongol ruler's proposal of marrying a Delhi princess evidently so annoyed 'Alauddin that he had the ambassadors imprisoned and some of their attendants trodden under the

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<sup>51.</sup> Kautilya, i. 16; Agni, P. 241.1-14; Sukra II. 72, 87-8. 52. Khadduri, Laws of War and Peace in Islam, 115-6; Ash Sha'rani, kitab Kashf ul Ghimmah, in Ibid, ch. xvii.

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feet of elephants. Abdullah Wassaf, a contemporary writer, has justly observed that this tarnished Alauddin's 'good fame'; "for to bring trouble on an ampassador is, under every system of religious faith, altogether opposed to the principles of law, social observance, and common sense. With respect to law, an ambassador receives his credentials without even the suspicion of criminality; with respect to social observance, the oppressor and the oppressed, friend and foe, peace and war, are all equally in need of embassies and communications: with respect to common sense, it is abundantly evident that the killing of one man, or even ten entails no infirmity or injury on a kingdom. Inasmuch, therefore, as 'Alau-d-dın, free to do as he chose, was guilty of a deed from which danger might have resulted, and without any cause exhibited enmity, he must be considered to have acted contrary to what a peaceful policy and sound prudence dictated."52-a

The Mughal empire had arrangements for inter-state espionage. After his enthronement Aurangzeb sent rich presents to other Muslim states and maintained diplomatic intercourse with the Sharif of Mecca and the Shah of Persia and also with the Kings of Balkh, Bukhara, Kashghar in Central Asia, Turkey and Abyssinia.53 It was the practice of rulers in those days to entrust traders and pilgrims with letters to distant countries and these couriers sometimes assumed the airs of ambassadors. The Mughal Emperors posted envoys in the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda. The Mughal envoys posted at Bijapur (Mulla Muhammad Sadiq) and Golkonda (Khwaja Muhammad Darwesh) used to send reports about the defences, internal conditions, military movements in these countries, to the Mughal General, Mirza Rajah Jai Singh I.54

Shivaji selected able persons to man his diplomatic corps. His Chief Justice, Niraji Raoji, used his master's money as well as his own skill as 'a clever logician', induced Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan (1676) to promise neutrality during his planned invasion of the Karnatak in 1677. Shivaji posted a shrewd diplomat, Prahlad Niraji with considerable per-

<sup>52</sup>a. Wassaf, E. D., iii, 51-2.

<sup>53.</sup> Sarkar, Aurangzib, iii. ch. 29, p. 121.

<sup>54.</sup> Haft Anjuman, 85a, 93b; My Military Despatches, etc., 142.

## MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA 593

sonal magnetism and persuasive power as his envoy at Haidarabad to win Qutb Shah's alliance.55

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rps. well ian, lity vaji perThe practice of writing reports of battles ('arzadasht), comparable to modern military despatches, was quite well known in Mughal India. Such reports were submitted to the Emperor by the General. However, we have very few extant examples of military despatches in Medieval India. Hence the Haft Anjuman of Munshi Udairaj alias Taleyar Khan, possesses a unique value. Sometimes, for reasons of expediency the despatches were accompanied by separate sheets (band) and by secret enclosures. 56

Thus during the medieval period the basic principles of strategic intelligence and diplomatic espionage were fairly well known to the theorists and rulers alike. But it was in practical application that the efficiency of espionage varied in different periods.

<sup>55.</sup> Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV. 245-6. 56. Irvine, Army, etc. 254; HA, 60b-61a, 55a, 58a; My Military Despatches, Preface, 134-5.

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## A Nineteenth Century Development Project in India: The Dharwar Gin Factories, 1843-92

BY

#### PETER HARNETTY

During the nineteenth century intensive efforts were made to develop India's resources for the benefit of British industry. To this end there was extensive railway construction, financed by British capital at favourable rates of interest guaranteed by the Government of India, manipulation of the Indian tariff to suit the interests of the Lancashire cotton manufacturers,2 and cotton improvement programs designed to relieve Lancashire's dependence on he United States as the major source of its raw material.3 In the 1840s American planters were brought to India to carry out the experimental cultivation of American cotton, and one of them succeeded in introducing and acclimatizing New Orleans cotton in the Dharwar district of Bombay. However, this variety of cotton had to be cleaned by a mechanical saw gin and so required a more complex technology than was present in Indian peasant culture at the time. As part of the effort to introduce into India varieties of cotton that would be suitable for the Lancashire cotton industry, a government factory was established to develop and manufacture the necessary gins. The operation

<sup>1.</sup> W. J. MacPherson, "Investment in Indian Railways, 1845-1875," Eco
nomic History Review, 2nd ser., VIII (1955), pp. 177-86.

<sup>2.</sup> Peter Harnetty, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire and the Indian Cotton Duties, 1859-1862" Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XVIII (1965).

pp. 333-49; and "The Indian Cotton Duties Controversy, 1894-1896," English Historical Review, LXXVII (1962), pp. 684-702.

<sup>3.</sup> The first cotton improvement program began in 1840 and lasted for about ten years; see Seth Leacock and David G. Mandelbaum, "A Nineteenth Century Development Project in India: The Cotton Improvement Program," Fconomic Development and Cultural Change, III (1955), pp. 334-41. During the American Civil War a second such program was undertaken; see Peter Harnetty, "The Cotton Improvement Program in India, 1865-1875," Agricultural History, XLIV (1970), pp. 379-92.

of this factory and its branches for nearly half a century provides an early example of the difficulties involved in development work and of the need to combine adequate technical knowledge with an understanding of relevant social and cultural factors.

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The original factory was founded in 1843 in a small cotton farm in Koosigul run by an American planter, Mercer. A succession of Americans remained in charge and in 1851 the factory was shifted to Dharwar into a small building erected for the purpose. Great results were expected from the factory's operations. But when the first cotton improvement program was wound up in 1852 and the remaining Americans recalled, the cultivation of Dharwar American cotton fell off and orders came from London to close the Dharwar factory and others that had been set up in Gujarat and Khandesh.4 These orders were cancelled as a result of intervention by Dr. G. F. Forbes, the civil surgeon of Dharwar and a successful amateur mechanic and inventor.5 Forbes argued that the reason for the declining value of Dharwar American cotton on the Liverpool market was the injury done to the staple by the cleaning machinery. He was appointed as Superintendent of the Dharwar factory in 1855 and he invented a new gin to replace the existing cotton-cleaning machinery. Thereafter, and with the added stimulation of favourable prices, the cultivation of Dharwar American cotton increased. This caused steady demand for the gins produced at the Dharwar factory and branch factories were established at Karajgi in 1858 and at Gadag in 1861. The branches served as bases for parties of itinerant workman who visited the surrounding country to repair gins in the owners' houses. The branches were managed by Forbes with the aid of a local panchayat and were under the immediate control of foremen trained at the main factory. The branches were not the property of the government, like the main factory at Dharwar, but belonged to the gin owners whose voluntary subscriptions supported the ported them. The head factory supplied men and materials, each branch employed fifteen to twenty artisans during the

<sup>4.</sup> Report by G. F. Forbes on the Cotton Crop. of the Southern Division, Bombay, for 1867-68, dated 9 May 1868. Bombay Record Office, Revenue Department Compilations, V (1868), No. 988.

<sup>5.</sup> Report by the Collector of Dharwar on the Cotton Gin Factories. 30 Aug. 1872. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., IX (1873), no. 647.

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busy season and a similar number of ordinary labourers. artisans were formed into travelling parties to tour the country and repair the gins. Each gin was inspected every two weeks and the results were recorded. Standardization of the pattern of gins supplied by the Dharwar factory made it possible to carry out most repairs on the spot.6

At first, the gins supplied from the Dharwar factory were made of wood but Forbes wanted to construct them of iron and in March 1858 he sent a model to Manchester for construction there. In 1860 Forbes visited England himself. He went to Manchester for consultations with cotton manufacturers and to purchase supplies for the Dharwar gin factory.8 The outbreak of civil war in America in April 1861, with the consequent threat to Lancashire's cotton supply, provided a great stimulus to the operations of the Dharwar factory. Cultivation of cotton increased enormously and Forbes made great efforts to spread the growth of Dharwar American cotton,9 This required the manufacture of many more saw gins and the India Office in London authorized the construction of certain parts of gins in Manchester to specifications laid down by Forbes. These parts were then shipped to the Dharwar factory. 10 From September 1861 to April 1863

6. William Walton, Acting Superintendent, Dharwar Cotton Gin Factory, to Govt. of Bombay, no. 107, 31 Jan. 1867. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp. VIII (1867). no. 281. Four additional branch factories were later opened.

7. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., LIV (1859), no. 582.

8. For example, Under-Secretary of State for India to G. F. Forbes, 18 Jan. 1861 authorizing him to purchase two saw gins to be worked by bullock power, at a cost of £ 40 each, and for various stores for the Dharwar factory amounting to £ 353. India Office, Rev. Dept., Home Corresp., Letters Sent, I (1859-62), no. 66.

9. For the increased cultivation of cotton in India in the 1860s, see Peter Harnetty, "Cotton Exports and Indian Agriculture, 1861-1870," Econ.

Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XXIV (1971), pp. 414-29, especially Table 3.

10. For example, Parl. Under-Sec. of State for India to John M. Dunlop, manufacturer of machinery, Manchester, 24 Dec. 1861, authorizing Dunlop to construct as a matter of urgency parts for one hundred 18-saw gins for shipment as a matter of urgency parts for one hundred 18-saw gins for shipment to Dharwar. India Office, Rev. Dept., Home Corresp., Letters Sent, I (1859-62), no. 113. In 1862, cast iron materials for the construction of 600 construction. of 600 saw gins at Dharwar were purchased in England. In April 1863. Parts for another 100 saw gins were shipped. Ibid., Letters Received, IV (1862) (1862), no. 368, and V (1863), no. 431A.

the value of saw gins and other stores imported from England for the factory amounted to Rs. 77,467.<sup>11</sup> These costs were recovered by the sale of gins to the ryots. In the middle of 1862 Forbes reported that the rise in the price of cotton caused by the war in America had led to an increased demand for cotton-cleaning machinery, and that he had 591 registered applicants for gins who had paid a deposit against purchase of them when they became available. He also claimed that in the six years from 1856 to 1862 receipts from the sale of gins by the Government factory had fallen short of expenditure by only Rs. 1,280.<sup>12</sup>

By 1863 the Dharwar factory was apparently turning out eight gins a day and had more than 1,000 orders on the books, with more coming in. The Bombay government considered that the manufacture of the improved saw gin was one of the few substantial improvements effectively introduced into Indian agricultural practice. In reply to a query from the Government of India, it argued that such manufacture was not yet in a state to be left to the chances of its being taken up by private enterprise. The value of the gins depended not only on general design and correct manufacture, but also and more particularly on the accurate fitting together of the parts. It was not possible to obtain the necessary perfection except at the government factory. Workmen trained at that factory had been tempted away by offers of high wages and employed by private parties to manufacture gins of an inferior quality. Yet such was the demand that the ryots were prepared to pay Rs. 600-700 for these inferior models rather than wait their turn for a government-manufactured gin at Rs. 300. Given the state of the demand and the fact that the government factory was the only one producing gins of good quality, the Bombay government considered it impossible to give up the manufacture of gins without perceptibly diminishing the supply of the best cotton currently exported from Western India. Moreover, gins had yet to be invented to do for the indigenous Deccan cotton what Forbes's gin had done for Dharwar American. The Bombay government

11. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XXVII (1862-64), no. 1408. From Aug. 1844 to Sept. 1861, Rs. 44,952 were spent on such imports.

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<sup>12.</sup> Report on the Cotton Gin Factory in the Dharwar Collectorate for the Half Year ending 31 May 1862. Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government. n.s., LXVII, p. 21.

believed it should aid such inventions by encouraging and sharing the expense of the necessary experiments. It therefore proposed to instruct Forbes to try and develop a gin suitable for the cotton of the Deccan, Berar, and Gujarat.<sup>13</sup>

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Soon after, the sphere of Forbes's activities was widened with his appointment as Cotton Commissioner for Bombay. He was given the tasks of improving the machinery for cleaning indigenous cotton, superintending the supply of acclimatized American seed from Dharwar to other parts of India, and generally assuming responsibility for problems connected with the improvement and extension of cotton cultivation in Bombay. 14 Meanwhile, the first notes of criticism of the Dharwar factory were heard. For several years Forbes had reported modest profits for the factory. But in the fiscal year 1862-63 they climbed from the previous year's figure of Rs. 408 to almost Rs. 16,000 and for the next six months to more than Rs. 4,200. At the end of 1863 the Bombay government requested its Auditor-General to report whether the profits of the factory were correctly shown. Various delays held up report until September 1864. The Auditor-General secured a statement of receipts and expenditures of the factory from its first year of operations in 1843-44 to 1862-63. But he found it impossible to tell from the figures what the profits of the factory were, because experiments in cotton cultivation and the establishment and working of the factory had always been considered parts of the same operation. The accounts were therefore so intimately blended that they could not be separated. But the Auditor-General doubted the accuracy of Forbes's reported profits. Much of the profit was assumed in anticipation of prices expected to be received from gins in stock and yet to be sold. A major portion of the profit was account of gins imported from England and sold at a mark up.15

<sup>13.</sup> Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India, no. 2717, 1 Aug. 1863. India, Rev. Consulations, XLVIII (1863), no. 15, 17 Oct. 1863.

<sup>14.</sup> Govt. of Bombay to Sec. of State, Letter no. 17 (Revenue), 27 Aug. 1863, submitting a copy of Bombay Government Resolution appointing Dr. Forbes as Cotton Commissioner subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. Forbes was appointed on 1 Oct. 1863.

<sup>15.</sup> Auditor-General to Govt. of Bombay, no. 1261, 26 Sept. 1864. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XXVII (1862-64), no. 1468.

The figures collected by the Auditor-General throw some light on the operations of the Dharwar gin factory during the first twenty years of its existence.

TABLE 1
OPERATIONS OF THE DHARWAR COTTON GIN FACTORY,

Receipts		Expenditures		
Sale of gins, etc. Sale of cotton in England	(Rs.) 171,874	Salary and establishment Contingent charges	215,807 140.176	
(1848-49, 1849-50) Dead stock, 30 April 1863	65.390	Advances for purchasing cotton sent to England	110,110	
(buildings, furniture)	11,071	(1847-54)	317,528	
Total	248,335	Total	673,511	
		Less receipts	248,335	
		Balance against factory	425,176	

Source: Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XXVII (1862-64), no. 1408.

In view of this unfavourable report, the Bombay government ordered William Walton, acting-superintendent during Forbes's absence in England on leave, to run the factory at a profit. Walton therefore engaged on other work from which a profit could be expected. This work was unconnected with the factory's purpose and also incompatible with his duties as superintendent. The result was a decline in efficiency. One of Walton's actions was to open two new branch factories for keeping cotton-cleaning machinery in order.16 Walton declared that these factories would cost the government nothing since the whole expense of establishment and operation would be met by voluntary subscription from the ryots. But all the branch factories were affected by the fall in the price of cotton that followed the end of the civil war in America. Cultivators and dealers were no longer prepared to give the same support to these branch factories as hitherto. Many subscribers withdrew on the plea that they could no longer afford the

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<sup>16.</sup> William Walton to Rev. Commr., S. Div., no. 175, 12 Feb. 1867. India, Rev. Procs., XXIV (1867), no. 1, 3 Apr. 1867.

obscription. They turned to unqualified persons to repair their ons and this had a bad effect on the machinery. 17

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In May 1868, with the future of the factory in doubt. 18 Forbes reviewed its working and proposed a plan of action for the future. He argued that it could not operate on the terms laid down by the government, namely, that it must show a profit, because this had resulted in the factory undertaking work that did not properly belong to it. This should cease and the government should cover the salary of the superintendent instead of charging it to the account of the factory. Forbes also proposed a reduction in the yearly subscription required of all gin owners, so as to bring all gins once more into proper repair. The charge for materials used in repair must be cut and the makeshift gins constructed by village blacksmiths and carpenters at the height of the American Civil War must be repaired at reasonable cost. Finally, Forbes called for increased superintendence of the working parties. He claimed all this could be done for an outlay of Rs. 6,000 a year, exclusive of the superintendent's salary. With this amount, Forbes said he could bring every gin in the area producing Dharwar American cotton within the control of factory workmen and keep them in good order. Not only was the continued future of acclimatized Dharwar American action at stake. He argued that the government had a moral obligation in the matter. Government had supplied many hundreds of persons with gins over the years and was surely bound to continue to provide the means of repairing them. This was an implied condition of the sale of the gins and one from which the government could not in fairness withdraw until relieved of the responsibility by private agencies. 19

<sup>17.</sup> Report by Dr. G. F. Forbes on the Cotton Crop of the S. Div., Bombay, for 1867-68, dated 9 May 1868. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., V (1868), no. 988.

<sup>18.</sup> The Secretary of State called for a report on the working of the factory in Aug. 1866. Sec. of State to Govt. of Bombay, Despatch no. 59 (Rev.), 23 Aug. 1866.

<sup>19.</sup> Report by Dr. G. F. Forbes on the Cotton Crop of the S. Div., Bombay, for 1867-68, dated 9 May 1868. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., V (1868), no. 988. Forbes denied charges that he had always stood in the way of private enterprise developing cleaning machinery in the southern part of Bombay presidency.

The Government of Bombay accepted Forbes's arguments. The introduction of New Orleans cotton into Dharwar district had given an impulse to the cotton trade and had added to the wealth of the district. By undertaking the distribution of seed the government had incurred the obligation of aiding in the supply of proper cleaning machinery. This had been done in the past and should be done in the future.20 Moreover, the Secretary of State agreed that the factory was of benefit.21 But many government officials in Bombay who were well acquainted with the Dharwar factory questioned the wisdom of maintaining it and in March 1871 the Bombay government set up a commission to look into the matter.<sup>22</sup> And when Forbes retired in the following year, the government asked the Collector of Dharwar to submit proposals for closing down the factory. However, the Collector, E. P. Robertson, warned that disastrous consequences would flow from government withdrawal from management of the factory. At the time, there were 315,386 acres of land sown with New Orleans cotton which depended on the saw gin for cleaning. If the factory was closed down, cultivation of this variety of cotton would cease within two years.23 At the same time, Robertson was critical of the operation of the Dharwar factory and its branches. For some years the head factory had produced only wooden gins but later it had produced gins with cast iron frames imported from England. They were sold at the following prices:

#### TABLE 2 COST OF SAW GINS PRODUCED AT DHARWAR (Rs.)

10	Up to 1868	1868-72	1872
18-saw gins	314	264	175
10-saw gins	207	167	135

Source: Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., IX (1873), no. 647.

Although the factory had sold 988 wooden gins and iron ones since its inception, these figures show that they were

20. Resolution no. 3508D of the Government of Bombay, 14 Sept. 1868. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., V (1868), no. 988.

21. Sec. of State to Govt. of Bombay, Despatch no. 84 (Rev.), 23 Dec. 1868.

22. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., VII (1871), no. 595.

23. Report by the Collector of Dharwar on the Dharwar Gin Factory, 30 Aug. 1872. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., IX (1873) no. 647.

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### THE DHARWAR GIN FACTORIES - 1843-92

sold at steadily declining prices while operating costs remained the same.

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Another criticism of the factory's operations was that from 1855 10 1871 there were no really practical mechanical assistants appointed to the factory. In 1871 a skilled mechanic was appointed superintendent and two mechanics from the Bombay dockyard were appointed as assistants. But the pay attached to the post of superintendent was so miserably inadequate that the government had to resort to the expedient of attaching other duties to the nosition. Forbes, who was superintendent from 1855 to 1863 had also been civil surgeon of Dharwar and was later superintendent of the port of Sedasheghur.24 His successor was Major Hassard, an amy officer who drew military pay. Forbes resumed the post in 1865 but was by then also Cotton Commissioner of Bombay and Inspector-in-Chief under the Bombay Cotton Frauds Act, which had gone into force on 1 January 1864. He was followed as superintendent of the factory by William Walton who was also an Inspector under the Cotton Frauds Act. When the skilled mechanic was appointed in 1871 most of his monthly salary of Rs. 900 came from the export fee on cotton levied under the Cotton Frauds Act. But when it was decided that payments from this fund on account of the Dharwar factory were irregular, his pay was cut to Rs. 200 and he promptly resigned.25

Clearly, the main factory had not been properly supervised and wild not be without increased expenditure. Other problems were reated by the branch factories. Six were built altogether, all on overnment land, out of funds subscribed by gin owners who were induced to build them partly so that their gins might be kept in proper repair but also because the gins manufactured at the main

<sup>24.</sup> For efforts to develop Sedasheghur (Karwar) as the outlet for pharwar Cotton, see Peter Harnetty, Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancature and India in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 67-69.

Aug. 1872. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., IX (1873), no. 647.

factory were too heavy to transport there for repair. The costs of constructing these branch factories were as follows:

TABLE 3 COSTS OF CONSTRUCTING BRANCH GIN FACTORIES, DRARWAR (Re.)

CODID OF COMPTHO	<u> </u>		(10.)
Navalgund	3,084	1,922	1,162
Ron	2,517	2,164	353
Gadag	2.684	2,391	293

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Ron	2,517	2,164	353
Gadag	2,684	2,391	293
Bankapur	2,681	2,681	
Karajgi	1,673	1,673	
Ranibennur	2,716	2,716	_

Source: Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., IX (1873), no. 647.

Because they were built on government land, the government became the owner of the factories although the funds for their construction had largely been paid by the subscribers. But the latter had fallen in arrears with their annual subscriptions which were supposed to cover maintenance costs, and they had also failed to pay the costs of the materials used in repairs. Hence the government had been the loser to the tune of Rs. 31,896.

TABLE 4 LOSSES SUSTAINED BY GOVERNMENT ON OPERATIONS OF BRANCH FACTORIES

Amounts Outstanding on account of subscriptions		on	Amounts Outstanding on account of gins and materials			
	Amount	Recov.	Irrecov.	Amount	Recov.	Irrecov.
Navalgund	1,455	200	1,255	361	308	53
Ron	2,570	1,285	1,285	1,188	600	588
Gadag	3,230	1,500	1,730	3,027	1,170	1,857
Bunkapur	5,620	150	5,470	1,078	808	270
Karajgi	6,781	1,910	4,871	400	185	215
Ranibennur	7,590	3,795	3,795	2,047	1,049	998
Hubli	11,155	2,000	9,155	954	600	354
Total	38,401	10,840	27,561	9,055	4,720	4,335
Source: Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., IX (1873), no. 647.						

The branch factories were supposed to be under the control of a panchayat of gin owners but this supervision was a farce. panchayats met monthly at the branch factories, signed an attendance book, recorded that everything was in order, and then separated. The visits by the officers of the head factory were of little value since they lacked mechanical knowledge. The

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to e whi tion has nun We and ther mer aris be t in argu Toposal ember 1 stimu ackwar aterpri many higher lent."28

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onsequence of this inadequate inspection was that although 4,000 aw gins were in use in Dharwar district, only 600 new saws were frought into use to replace old ones in 1870-71.26

Having made these criticisms, Robertson recommended that for the future the work of the main factory should be confined to epairing gins and not to making new ones. There were sufficient ins already in the district to supply its needs, and the stock in and was more than sufficient for several years. Accordingly, sobertson recommended turning the main factory into an industrial school and reformatory and abolishing the system of itinerant worknen and branch factories. His reasons reflected the trend in official hinking in India about the government's educational policy and its onsequences:

Government has been paying for years past great attention to education, great and rapid strides have been taken, and while we have thus been giving the young men a high education as clerks, nothing or next to nothing, of a practical nature has been done to advance them. The result is, we have a number of young men fit to be clerks but fit for nothing else. We are rearing up a set of functionaries of the Chinese type, and there is not and never can be Government employment for them all. Every officer of experience will frankly tell Government that this is causing much discontent, and that the danger arising from this is of the very greatest description and not to be trifled with.<sup>27</sup>

In argument of a different nature was advanced when Robertson's Roposals came before the Bombay government. Henry Tucker, a rember of the Governor's Council, stressed the role of government stimulating enterprise in an underdeveloped country: "In a reckward country like India we cannot leave everything to private therprise and it is necessary for Government to take the initiative many things which, in countries where civilization has reached higher point of development, are best left alone by Government." Tucker recalled that New Orleans cotton would not have ten introduced into Dharwar but for government interference.

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<sup>26.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28.</sup> Note by Henry P. St. G. Tucker, 1 Jan. 1873. Ibid.

Therefore, it would not be good policy for the government to completely retreat from the field of action. He thought the government would be quite justified in keeping Dharwar supplied with the skilled craftsmen necessary to repair machinery which had come into use as a result of government action. He especially favoured Robertson's plan for an Industrial School, though without a reformatory as an adjunct.

The Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, interviewed Robertson personally before deciding what action to take. He agreed that it was necessary to keep faith with the cotton growers of Dharwar by making arrangements to keep their gins in repair. So he decided to keep the central factory as a source of supply at an annual cost to the imperial revenues of about Rs. 10,000. Only those branch factories which could pay their way would be retained; the others would be closed at once. After further prodding from Tucker, the Governor also agreed to the proposal for the establishment of a School of Industry at Dharwar, if funds could be found.29

Meanwhile, in January 1873 the Government of India questioned the wisdom of retaining the Dharwar gin factory, as part of a general review of the role of government in improving cotton cultivation.30 The Bombay government gave two arguments for retainin the factory: to keep faith with those who had purchased gins, and to preserve the cultivation of New Orleans cotton in Dharwar district. It asked permission to spend Rs. 10,000 a year for the maintenance of the head factory on a reduced scale but said it would retain only those branch factories which could pay their way with subscriptions from the ryots.31 The Government of India agreed on a three-year trial basis and laid down as the primary object of the factory the training of existing village workmen to do

29. Resolution of the Government of Bombay, no. 2192, 17 Apr. 1873.

30. Govt. of India to Govt. of Bombay, no. 3, 6 Jan. 1873. India, Rev.

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Agric. and Commerce (Fibres and Silks) Proces., Jan., 1873, no. 8. 31. Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India, no. 2598-129R, 7 May 1873. Ibid., July 1873, no. 4. It should be noted that although the Bombay government was prepared to use government agency to encourage the cultivation of Dharwar American cotton to the extent of financing the operations of the Dharwar gin factory, it refused to agree to another suggestion made by Robertson for legislation authorizing government officers to prevent any man from working a gin which was not certified to be in good working order.

the necessary repairs. It hoped within a reasonable period to withdraw its subsidy and leave the cultivation and trade in cotton to the natural order of things."<sup>32</sup> The Bombay government made it clear that in future no gins would be manufactured at the pharwar factory, which would be used only to repair gins and to make whatever parts were needed for that purpose. This would and the unnecessary and irregular expenditures which had haracterized the operation of the factory hitherto, and which had included the manufacture and purchase of cotton presses. The workmen already trained by the factory would be given the chance to buy, at the lowest possible rates, such atricles as were required for the repair of gins. They would then he able to compete successfully with the men employed by the branch factories and so render those factories unnecessary.<sup>33</sup>

On this basis, the central factory operated at an actual cost of Rs. 6.472 in 1873-74. But hardly any of the work done there was in the repair of gins. Most of it was general work for the public and for government departments. No purchasers could be bund for the saw gins made at the factory and no success was whieved in inducing shopkeepers to take materials for sale. The branch factory at Hubli was closed but the six others were retained. Their financial condition was chaotic. Rs. 4,726 was outstanding in wages to workmen; this sum was paid off and the payment debited the Cotton Frauds Fund. Apart from this, the branch factories were in debt to the extent of Rs. 11,593, mainly on account of naterials supplied to them by the main factory at Dharwar. Gin wners still owed the branch factories Rs. 38,401 in outstanding Abscriptions. Thus, when the Collector of Dharwar assumed conof the Dharwar gin factories in 1873 they were indebted to he amount of Rs. 50,000. He was later able to recover more than

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<sup>32.</sup> Govt. of India to Govt. of Bombay, no. 148, 5 July 1873. India, fev., Agric. and Commerce (Fibres and Silks) Procs., July 1873, no. 5. The Secretary to government in this department, A. O. Hume, noted that from reports he had seen from many quarters, a very large portion of the otton cultivated in Dharwar consisted of hybrid cotton of far less value han the original stock. Hume also thought that from the results of ginning tals, it was no longer true to say that there was no other gin than the law gin that could satisfactorily clean New Orleans cotton.

<sup>33.</sup> Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India, no. 4683-236R, 16 Aug. 1873. bdia, Rev., Agric., and Commerce (Fibres and Silks) Procs., Aug. 1873, no. 3.

Rs. 5,400 of this sum; the rest had to be written off. The six branch factories had only 897 gins subscribed for out of about 3,000 in the district; in the case of five of these branches, efforts to get the panchayats to take some interest in their affairs failed. The burden of management consequently fell on the mamlatdars.34

Clearly, the operations of the Dharwar gin factory and its branches were inefficient. Then came evidence that the gins they had manufactured were also inefficient. This became clear from the results of an exhaustive series of trials of cotton gins used for cleaning the different varieties of cotton grown in India. These trials were held in Manchester, Broach, and Dharwar in 1871-72 and again in 1874-75. They were sponsored by the India Office and supported by the Manchester Cotton Supply Association and the Society of Arts, both of which appointed committees to assist in their execution. Forty-six different gins were tested with thirtytwo varieties of cotton. In the course of the trials, in England and in India, 120,000 lbs. of seed cotton were cleaned and the quality of the cotton produced was determined by actually spinning 168 of the 400 samples of clean cotton. Then, the breaking strength of the resulting yarn was ascertained in more than 5,000 experiments.

The prime object of the trials was to find out the relative merits of the various gins used for cleaning Indian cotton. results had an important bearing on the solution of several questions relating to the ginning of cotton which had been raised in India since the introduction of European machinery for the purpose. Up to this point, the usual opinion in India was that the churka could clean the cotton without injuring the fibre, but its great disadvantage was the small amount of work it got through. The fact that it was worked by hand delayed the commencement of ginning operations until after the picking had been completed. This was an important consideration because, apart from the advantages of a rapid preparation of the crop, in many parts of the country and especially in Dharwar district it was of the utmost importance to finish the preparation of the cotton crop and get it out of the country before the monsoon made communications impossible. The saw gin, on the other hand, had a remarkably high

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<sup>34.</sup> Report by the Collector of Dharwar on the Working of the Dharwar Cotton Gin Factories, 1873-74. Ibid., Jan. 1876, no. 15.

output although the saws injured the fibre markedly. It was usually acknowledged that for rough or woolly-seeded cotton, such as pharwar American, the saw gins were the most effective. Dr. Forbes had believed that with properly fitted gins, no injury was done to the fibre of Dharwar American although the weaker native staples were cut and spoiled. Others, such as Dr. Shortt who conducted ginning experiments in Madras in 1865, were convinced that indigenous cotton could also be cleaned by saw gins.<sup>35</sup>

Two important facts emerged from the trials. First, it was found that there was no essential difference between the ginning qualities of the indigenous and exotic varieties of cotton. It was not true that the staple of the Indian cotton was so tender that the action of saw gins would be destructive. Equally, it was not true that roller gins could not clean cotton with a wooly seed, like Dharwar American.36 Second, the trials showed that Dharwar American cotton cleaned by saw gins produced at the Dharwar factory, even when the gins were in perfect condition, was inferior in quality to such cotton cleaned by the best American saw gins. There was no doubt that the gin produced at Dharwar, although twenty years previously it was a considerable improvement on gins then tested in India, was now inferior to other saw gins. It followed that in the neglected condition in which these gins were frequently found in Dharwar district, many of them not having been set or repaired in years, that the inferiority must be greatly increased 37

This was in fact the case, and was due to deliberate action on the part of gin owners. The worse the condition of the gin, provided it worked, the greater the profit since cotton was sold by weight and the weight of cotton turned out by a defective gin was creater because of the presence of seed in the cleaned cotton. Support for maintaining the factories now waned. The branch factory at Navalgund was closed in 1874 for lack of subscriptions

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<sup>35.</sup> J. Forbes Watson, Report on Cotton Gins and on the Cleaning and Quality of Indian Cotton, 2 vols. (London, 1879), II, pp.210-11.

<sup>36.</sup> MaCarthy Gins came largely into use for all cotton previously cleaned by the *churka* as soon as the cleaning operation came to be performed by hower in large factories.

<sup>37.</sup> Watson, op. cit., I, pp. 19-24.

<sup>38.</sup> Ibid.

and those at Ron and Bankapur were struggling. The Collector of Dharwar accordingly recommended the closure of the main factory at Dharwar and its incorporation in the School of Industry which had been established there in 1873 under the direction of the factory superintendent. He asked for a grant-in-aid of Rs. 4,000 from imperial funds for the purpose, with the balance of Rs. 5,500 to come from provincial and local funds and from the public works department.<sup>39</sup>

This proposal was accepted and a grant of Rs. 4,000 a year for five years for support of the school was sanctioned.40 The main gin factory at Dharwar was closed on 1 April 1876 but once more the future of Dharwar American cotton cultivation in the district was raised. According to William Walton, who wrote an historical account of the cultivation of New Orleans cotton in Dharwar in 1877, the area under this variety in the five years from 1870 to 1875 averaged only two-fifths of the total area under cotton in Dharwar district compared with three-fifths in the five-year period before 1870.41 This report alarmed the Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, who visited Dharwar in 1877 to discuss the whole question of the cultivation of Dharwar American cotton with local officials. They told him that in recent years there had been a continuous decline in the cultivation of this variety and that if unchecked its cultivation might cease entirely. But they were certain that the cultivation of this cotton could be carried on successfully. They claimed that the reason for the decline was deterioration of the produce by bad ginning. The closure of the

Otton Gin Factories, 1874-75, 29 Mar. 1875. India, Rev., Agric., and Commerce (Fibres and Silks) Procs., Jan. 1876, no. 15. The branches at Ron, Bankapur, Gadag, Karajgi, and Ranibennur were also subsequently closed. W. Walton to Collector of Dharwar, no. 745, 15 June 1878. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XXXVII (1878), no. 411.

40. Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India, no. 4070, 19 July 1875; Govt. of India to Govt. of Bombay, no. 1, 5 Jan. 1876. Ibid. The school remained in operation until 31 Aug. 1883. Such of the stock of the Dharwar factory as could be sold was auctioned in Apr. 1884 but Rs. 26,000 worth of stock, mostly gins and gin fitings, remained unsold. The factory premises were rented to the Southern Mahratta Railway Co. for Rs. 50 a month. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., CCXXII (1883). no. 157.

41. William Walton, A Short History of Cotton in the Dharwar District (Bombay, 1877), p. 73.

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pharwar gin factory meant that there were no longer competent persons available to repair gins and the cultivators did not have sufficient power of combination to maintain the organization which used to exist.<sup>42</sup>

Temple believed that one more effort should be made to restore the necessary organization. He proposed to his Council that Walton hould be transferred from his duties as a Cotton Inspector to devote all his attention to the repair and working of the saw gins. Walton would be given a small establishment for this purpose but the ryots would have to raise the money necessary to maintain the gins in good order. Temple also proposed to secure fresh New Orleans seed through the India Office. But his Council was not enthusiastic. One member, Lionel Ashburner, who had been active in trying to introduce new varieties of cotton into Khandesh when Collector of that district from 1865 to 1872,43 argued that as it paid the ryots and merchants to keep the gins out of repair, any effort by government to repair them would be futile. Walton himself had shown that the more rubbish the cotton contained, the more valuable it was to the grower. The damaged saw gins increased the amount of rubbish and seed in the cotton and were therefore a source of gain to the cultivators. Either legislation was necessary to enforce the use of efficient gins and punish the use of mefficient ones, or the attempt to foster the cultivation of this kind of cotton should be given up. But it would be inconsistent, just as the government was about to repeal the Cotton Frauds Act,44 to pass another Act interfering with the cotton trade. Ashburner, who had failed in his efforts to get the ryots of Khandesh to grow different varieties of cotton in the 1860s, was convinced that the

<sup>42. &</sup>quot;Culture and Preparation of American Cotton in the Dharwar District." Minute by the Governor of Bombay, 18 Dec. 1877. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XXXVII (1878), no. 411.

<sup>43.</sup> Harnetty, Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancashire and India in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, pp. 89-93.

<sup>44.</sup> The Cotton Frauds Act was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council in 1863 at the height of the American Civil War, in an attempt to prevent the adulteration of Indian cotton and thus improve its quality, and its acceptability on the Liverpool cotton market. It was intensely unpopular with the Bombay merchants engaged in the cotton trade and they were able to secure its amendment in 1878 and repeal in 1882. For a full discussion, see Harnetty, op. cit., ch. 6.

extinction of New Orleans cotton in Dharwar was inevitable. He also thought that although the bad state of repair of saw gins was one cause of the deterioration of Dharwar American cotton, the main cause was the increased demand for another variety, Kampta, This was due to decreased demand from Russia, the chief consumer of Dharwar American cotton, due to the Russo-Turkish war and the unsettled conditions which preceded it. At the same time, the rapidly growing Bombay mill industry wanted Kumpta cotton 45

Despite Ashburner's advice, the Bombay government decided to make one more effort. On 19 December 1877, the Collector of Dharwar was ordered to provide a small establishment for Walton to assist him in efforts to improve the saw-ginned cotton of Dharwar. At the same time, the Secretary of State was asked to supply 500 lbs. of fresh seed and one hundred/weight of the best brushes for the saw gins. The Collector was warned that unless the subscriptions from those interested in the cotton trade were sufficient to maintain the gins in good order, the Bombay government would have to reconsider its policy.46

Walton took charge of the six factories from the Collector and reopened those at Gadag, Ron, Bankapur, Karajgi, and Hubli which became the head factory. In March 1878 he also reopened the factory at Ranibennur and by September he had collected Rs. 17.685 in subscriptions: Between December 1877 and September 1878 1,257 gins were repaired in these factories. Most of the repairs were very heavy because the gins had not been repaired for some time. At the same time, large quantities of saw gin files sent by the Secretary of State arrived at the factories.

Walton submitted an optimistic report for the following year, 1878-79. He said that 1,015 gins were under the management of his factories, of which 843 were repaired during the year, some at the factories and others by parties of itinerant workmen. He claimed an operating surplus of Rs. 12,261 which made possible a reduction in the subscription from Rs. 15 to Rs. 12 a year. But he also reported that he had found owners very reluctant to have

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<sup>45.</sup> Note by Lionel Ashburner, 3 Jan. 1878. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XXXVII (1878), no .411. 46. Ibid.

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their gins repaired when they were out of order and that the Dharwar American cotton had continued to decline.47 charge had earlier been made in an article in The Times of India on 15 August 1879 when it was stated that the saw-ginned cotton of that year was the worst on record. A conference was held on 15 September 1879 at Government House in Bombay to consider the matter. The Bombay government reaffirmed its decision to try and restore the quality of this variety by providing facilities for the repair of saw gins. It would do this in the public interest until Dharwar district was further opened up to trade. But it condemned the financial management of the factories and referred to various complaints that had been made. These included the charge that Walton's subordinates got the gins into the factories under the pretence of repairing them and then kept them there until the owners paid a subscription of Rs. 15 and the cost of the repairs. Another complaint was that Walton had constructed buildings for himself and an office out of the subscription money.48

Despite this decision to carry on with the operation of the factories, the matter was reviewed in the following year as a result of the decision to abolish the Bombay Cotton Frauds Department on 51 May 1880. From April to August 1880 prolonged discussions on the future of the factories were held in Bombay. There were sharp differences of opinion. Arthur Crawford, revenue commissioner of the Southern division, thought it would be "suicidal" to close all the factories and would cause great hardship to the people. He argued that the state had benefitted, and would continue to benefit, from the great prosperity of the Dharwar district and that this was due to the cultivation of acclimatized New Orleans cotton. The people had adopted this variety of cotton under pressure from the government and had invested money in saw gins on the understanding that government would provide the means of keeping them in repair. Crawford said that a railway would be built through the Dharwar district within three or four years and this Would result in private enterprise stepping in to develop the culture

<sup>47.</sup> Report on the Operations of the Saw Gin Factories for 1878-79, 4 Feb. 1880. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XLVII (1880), no. 395.

<sup>48.</sup> Resolution of the Govt of Bombay, no. 5322 (Rev.), 4 Oct. 1879; Govt. of Bombay to Rev. Commr., S. Div., no. 4935, 15 Sept. 1879. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., LV (1879), no. 759.

of this variety of cotton. This would relieve the government of all difficulties connected with the saw gin factories. He pointed out that the Karwar Co., which had two large steam ginning and pressing factories at Hubli and Gadag, had gone into liquidation and could not find a purchaser at any price. This was hardly the moment, therefore, to expect private enterprise to take the place of government. Crawford proposed retaining four of the six factories on a reduced establishment which could be entirely supported out of the subscriptions of the gin owners. Walton, whose pay was provided by the Cotton Frauds Department, would have to go since that department was being abolished.<sup>49</sup>

The Governor, Sir James Ferguson, and Lionel Ashburner supported Crawford's proposal. But another member of the Bombay Council, E. W. Ravenscroft, was strongly opposed. In a lengthy Minute he argued that the time had come for the government to pull out. His argument was grounded in the philosophy of laissez-faire, for "though it may have been good policy forty years ago, for a paternal Government to interfere with the cultivation of their tenants, and by considerable pressure induce them to sow a particular kind of seed on the presumption that the ryots did not know what was good for themselves, those days, I am happy to say, have passed away."50 It was no more the function of government to interfere with what the ryots cultivated than with what they ate for their dinners. Ravenscroft cited the report by J. Forbes Watson on the relative merits of Kumpta and Dharwar American cotton based on the gin trials made in 1871-72 and 1874-75: the latter was inferior in all respects except in its greater freedom from leaf.<sup>51</sup> Since then, it was universally admitted that Dharwar American had deteriorated to a point where further deterioration was impossible. "Such is the effect of Government interference and fostering care for nearly forty years, with an

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<sup>49.</sup> A Crawford to Govt. of Bombay, no. 21A, 21 Apr. 1880 Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XLVII (1880), no. 1103. When the matter was referred to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, it replied that it was divided on commend" their abolition. Bombay Chamber of Commerce to Govt. of Bombay, 22 May 1880.

<sup>50.</sup> Minute by E. W. Ravenscroft, 20 July 1880. Ibid. 51. J. Forbes Watson, op. cit., II, pp. 236-37.

outlay of tens of thousands of pounds!!!"<sup>52</sup> Ravenscroft concluded that the government should end its connection with Dharwar cotton as speedily as possible.

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But the Bombay Council voted 2 to 1 in favour of Crawford's proposal to retain four of the factories, and the Government of India was asked to give the necessary sanction. The Bombay government argued that the factories should be retained until the opening of rail communications in that part of the country, and the possible development of private enterprise, relieved it of the responsibility. The annual cost of Rs. 5,000 could be met for several years to come from the accumulated balance of Rs. 31,000 to the credit of the factories. The prosperity of the Dharwar district depended on the growth of American cotton, although the quality of this cotton had been declining in recent years, partly due to the deterioration of seed, and partly to the disrepair of the gins used in cleaning the cotton. But fresh seed had lately been procured from America and its effect would be lost unless something was done to improve the gins, since about 900 out of a total of 2,080 gins were in fair working order.53

The Government of India received these proposals coldly. It thought it was an extraordinary arrangement to maintain factories at public expense in order to repair privately-owned machinery. After further correspondence, the Government of India gave its reluctant sanction in May 1881, for a period not to exceed three years. But by then there had been new developments in Bombay. The superintendent of the factories, William Walton, resigned from the government service. Then came a report from the commissioner of the Southern division showing that the cultivation of Dharwar American cotton had declined from 141,626 acres to only 77,120

<sup>52.</sup> Minute by E. W Ravenscroft, 20 July 1880.

<sup>53.</sup> Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India, no. 4234, 13 Aug. 1880. India, Home, Rev. and Agric. Procs., Sept. 1880, no. 26. The Secretary of State sent three-quarters of a ton of seed in 1880. Sec. of State to Govt. of Bombay, Despatch no. 3 (Rev.), 10 Feb. 1881. The Bombay Govt. decided to give this seed to the ryots in return for double the quantity of local seed; unfortunately it failed to germinate.

<sup>54.</sup> Note by Charles Grant, Secretary to the Govt. of India in the Home, Rev. and Agric. Dept., 21 Aug. 1880; Govt. of India to Govt. of Bombay, no. 5305, 8 Oct. 1880. India, Home, Rev., and Agric. Procs., Sept 1880, no. 26.

acres. This meant that far fewer gins would be required to clean the cotton crop and also that the subscriptions from the gin owners would not cover the expenses of the proposed establishment, since owners of gins not now needed would obviously not subscribe.<sup>55</sup>

So the Bombay government decided to change the method of raising subscriptions. The existing method was unpopular because the gin-owner, through his subscription, paid as much for labour if his gin needed minor repairs as if it needed major repairs. The owner was also billed for materials used in repairs. To recoup himself, he often detained the itinerant workmen on other jobs so as to get as much as possible in return for his subscription. The government now drastically reduced the establishment of the remaining factories and cut the subscription; to retain control over idle gins it asked gin owners to store their saws at the factories free of charge. This would mean an operating deficit in the first year but it would be met from the surplus in the cotton gin fund accumulated from subscriptions in previous years. 56

At first the new system seemed to work well. In the first nine months expenses were only Rs. 1,331 and of the 1,200 gins in the Southern Maratha Country (exclusive of native states, where there were 880 more), 360 gin owners had deposited their saws in the factories; the owners of 704 of the remaining 840 gins had voluntarily paid the reduced subscription of Rs. 8 per year. Cultivation of Dharwar American cotton almost doubled in 1881-82, from 77,120 acres to 138,963 acres because of the high price of cotton. Greatly encouraged, the Bombay government came to a new decision. Extensive inquiries had revealed the undue pressure put on gin owners in the past. Not only had they been made to pay more than was fair; they had very often been made to pay for supposed benefits or work for which they received no adequate return. The divisional commissioner now proposed that before it retired from the concern on 1 July 1884, the Bombay government should try to refund to the subscribers as much as it could of what it had

55. Commr., S. Div, to Govt. of Bombay, no. 786, 21 Mar. 1881. Bombay, Rev. Dept Comp., XLIX, (1881), no. 1103.

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<sup>56.</sup> Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India, no. 3067, 28 May 1881; Govt. of India to Govt. of Bombay, no. 214, 2 July 1881. *Ibid.* A further reduction bennur were sold in the same year.

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collected from them. This could best be done by taking advantage of the experiments made in England on two Dharwar saw gins. They had been altered on the recommendation or Dr. J. Forbes Watson by substituting Emery saws and grids for those of the Dharwar pattern. Experiments on the altered gins had been carried out in Dharwar by Dr. Watson and further improvements had been made. The Bombay government agreed; the subscription was immediately cut to Rs. 6 a year and it decided that in 1883 every subscribing gin owner would receive free of cost the new iron grids designed by Dr. Watson, provided they purchased the new saw gins which Watson had also designed. The government hoped that this would both cut the cost of repairs and greatly improve the quality of Dharwar cotton. 58

Over the next few years quantities of supplies were sent out from England, particularly bristles for the brushes of the saw gins: the costs were met from the Cotton Gin Factories fund. But the Bombay government's hopes were not borne out. It proved difficult to collect even the reduced subscription, the balance in the fund declined, and deficits were incurred in 1884-85 and 1885-86. The Bombay government called for a report from the Collector of Dharwar who was told to find out if the new District Local Board would take over the factories; it also sought the opinion of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.<sup>59</sup> The Collector reported that the factories were in debt to the extent of just under Rs. 3,000 on 1 May 1887 and he anticipated a deficit of more than Rs. 2.000 in The mamlatdars had been lax in collecting sums due to the factories. Receipts depended on the pleasure of individual cultivators and there was no way of enforcing payment of subscriptions or of bills for work performed by the factories. And the District Local Board declined to take over management of the factories.60 The Bombay Chamber of Commerce thought that sawginned Dharwar cotton would again find a market in Europe now

<sup>57.</sup> Commr., S. Div., to Govt. of Bombay, no. 881, 28 Mar. 1882. Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., LI (1882), no. 1103.

<sup>58.</sup> Resolution no. 3383 (Rev.) of the Govt. of Bombay, 22 May 1882. Ibid.

<sup>59.</sup> Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp. LXXIV (1887), no. 1550.

<sup>60.</sup> Collector of Dharwar to Rev. Commr. S. Div., nos. 1307 and 1373, 11 and 17 May 1887. Ibid.

that the opening of railway communications with the district enabled the cotton to reach Bombay before the monsoon broke. The cotton would therefore be free of the rain damage which was previously a serious objection to it. But the Chamber held firm to the belief that trade in all its branches should be left to private enterprise and so recommended discontinuance of government maintenance and repair of gins after two years' notice. 61

The Bombay government now decided that the time had come to withdraw from the operation. In stating its reasons it first of all justified past policies:

It was perhaps an error in the first place to sell to ignorant peasants machines requiring skilled labour for their repair, but that mistake having been made, it would have imperilled all the results of the large outlay which Government had incurred in establishing a valuable product, if the means of maintaining the gins in good order had not been provided.<sup>62</sup>

The government repeated the hope that the opening of railway communications would mean that private enterprise would fill the gap left by its own withdrawal. It was in no doubt that without government intervention saw-ginned Dharwar cotton would have become extinct, and that the people of Dharwar had profitted greatly by the introduction of this variety. But the refusal of the District Local Board to assume control of the factories showed that they could not be made self-supporting; the government must therefore sever connection with them. It gave notice that the factories would be closed two years hence, on 31 August 1889, unless the District Local Board changed its mind and took control of them.

Before the date fixed for closure the District Board did indeed change its mind. At a special meeting on 1 January 1889 it decided to take over management of the factories but complications soon developed. Certain members of the Board thought that as they lacked the power to levy fees from the gin owners, it would be

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<sup>61.</sup> Bombay Chamber of Commerce to Govt. of Bombay, 15 Aug. 1887.

<sup>62.</sup> Resolution no. 2355 (Financial) of the Govt. of Bombay, 31 Aug. 1887.

difficult to keep the factories solvent. The official members of the Board thought that what the Collector and Mamlatdars had partially failed to do, the Local Board would completely fail to do. The Board therefore asked the Bombay government to guarantee the necessary expenditure for a further period. The divisional commissioner still believed the factories were too valuable to be "smashed up" without due consideration and he was sure the Local Board could not operate them successfully since it had no power or influence in the matter of collecting outstanding debts. He therefore recommended government management for a further two or three years. To this the Bombay government agreed but only to the close of the fiscal year 1889–90.

In 1889 and 1890 the finances of the factories improved and small surpluses were even reported. But by now the Bombay government was anxious to wash its hands of the whole business. In April, and again in July 1891 it instructed the Collector of Dharwar to do all he could to find some firm willing to take over the factories. It also approached the Bombay Chamber of Commerce with the same end in view, and it gave wide publicity to its desire to dispose of the factories. But no private firm came forward. In November 1891 the Collector of Dharwar reported that no private firm would take over the factories and he recommended that they be closed and the stock disposed of. The Bombay government was quick to accept this advice and the factories were at last closed on 4 February 1892.65

So ended, after almost fifty years, the government's attempt to develop and manufacture saw gins in the Dharwar district. An examination of the government's involvement in this project raises a number of questions. First, why did it last so long? The answer lies in the desire of the government to foster the growth of a variety of cotton—Dharwar American—which was favoured by the Lancashire cotton industry. This variety was introduced into the Dharwar district by American planters in the 1840s; its cultivation was stimulated by high cotton prices during the American Civil War

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<sup>63.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64.</sup> Bombay, Rev. Dept. Comp., XLVII (1891), no. 1550.

<sup>65.</sup> Resolution no. 68 (Financial) of the Govt. of Bombay, 7 Jan. 1892.

in the 1860s, when a major effort was made under the direction of Dr. Forbes, who was both Cotton Commissioner and Superintendent of the Dharwar factories, to induce the ryots to grow more Dharwar American cotton. It was hoped that, as a result. this cotton would find a permanent market in England. To improve its marketability, new gins were devised which were supposed to clean the cotton effectively. The manufacture and maintenance of these gins was undertaken by the government as a means of developing a new resource and as an aspect of agricultural development. But these hopes were dashed after 1870, when cotton prices fell as America re-entered the world market, and as Lancashire resumed its traditional dependence on America as its major source of cotton supply. Cultivation of Dharwar American accordingly declined and the justification for maintaining the factories diminished. But the government was slow to abandon its hopes that Dharwar American cotton would find a continuing and even expanding market overseas and it continued to believe that since this variety had been introduced as a result of government policy, it had a moral obligation to provide the necessary cleaning machinery. Only when it became clear that the cultivation of Dharwar American had declined to the point of extinction did the government feel relieved of this responsibility.

A second question concerns the cultivators. Why did they so reluctantly support, and even resist, a project that was seemingly in their interests? The answer is that they had good reason to be cautious about adopting a new variety of cotton which not only lacked a local market, but was not adapted to the cultural conditions of hand ginning, hand spinning, and local marketing. Dharwar American was only grown when two factors came into play: pressure from government officials and high overseas prices which ensured an export market. The first factor was largely typical of the 1840s and the latter of the 1860s. During the American Civil War years, Dharwar American accounted for about three-fifths of all cotton grown in the Dharwar district. Thereafter, it declined as the export market weakened and as the activity of government officials, such as Dr. Forbes, diminished. The fortunes of the gin factories paralleled this fluctuation in patterns of cultivation. They prospered, at least in a relative sense, when extra-ordinary market conditions abroad created a demand

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The history of the Dharwar gin factories underlines the connection between technical innovation and societal change. Because the gins were expensive, most ryots could not afford to buy them. This meant that they had to sell their cotton to those local merchants who did own them. These merchants often forced the ryots to wait for days and weeks until the cultivators accepted whatever price the merchants saw fit to offer. Moreover, the necessity to pay both an annual subscription to the government factory and the cost of repairs opened new possibilities for oppression of the ryots. So the ryot who cultivated Dharwar American cotton had to cope with new personages in novel and powerful social roles—such as gin operators—which entailed new social relations that (as with a tube-well operator today) were strange and disconcerting to him. 67

Those who attempted to introduce the saw gin considered themselves innovators but they lacked the perception of the intricate patterns of village life and of the economic relationships that derived from them which were necessary for success. They were also deficient in theoretical knowledge. The Dharwar saw gins were developed by an enthusiastic amateur, Dr. G. F. Forbes, who had no mechanical training. This tradition of amateurism characterized the management of the factories throughout their existence and contributed to their eventual failure. An example is the way the factories operated for thirty years before systematic trials of the gins they produced were undertaken. The trials then revealed that the gins were actually defective in performing the task for which they had been designed.

In conclusion, this discussion of the Dharwar gin factories illustrates the fact that development requires both advances in knowledge in this case of the cotton plant and of cleaning machinery — and understanding of the social and cultural framework within which the new knowledge must be applied. Both were lack-

<sup>66.</sup> Walter R. Cassels, Cotton: An Account of Its Culture in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay, 1862), p. 147.

<sup>67.</sup> Leacock and Mandelbaum, op. cit., p. 348.

ing in this early development project. The cultivation of Dharwar American cotton, and the consequent need for new cleaning machinery, was an "induced need" on the part of a government anxious to supply a resource required by British industry. It was not a "felt need" deriving from the conditions and requirements of the local society. In such circumstances the project was bound to fail.

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# Indian National Congress: Towards Militant Nationalism

BY

#### P. N. CHOPRA

The year 1897 is memorable in the annals of the Congress and that matter in the history of our freedom movement. That year w the beginning of the arbitrary and repressive measures of wernment resulting in an open struggle between the government ad the Congress which continued unabated till the inauguration of orley-Minto reforms. Foremost among the causes that led to is change was not only the apathy of the Government towards e Congress demands but also the repressive measures adopted by e authorities against the surging tide of nationalism. The year 197 was particularly unfortunate as it brought both famine and phonic plague in its train. To the chronic disease of poverty and e periodic tragedy of famine, as Dadabhai surmised, was thus dded another calamity. Bombay was the worst sufferer. \$257 cases reported, 11,882 proved to be fatal. "The bubonic ague, the forced segregation, the compulsory domiciliary visits," 10te Surendranath "created a feeling of panic and alarm among population at Poona." The inquistorial searches of the Plague mmittee assisted by a European regiment at Poona within private uses and temples created widespread discontent. "There is thing that touches our people so deeply" writes Surendranath "as terference with their household arrangements and invasion into sanctities of their domestic life."

The excitement culminated the murder of Rand, the President of the Plague Committee d Lt. Ayerst, another British Officer.2 This incident provided authorities with the opportunity to "embark upon a campaign organised repression."3 Tilak was arrested on the charge of citing disaffection against the Government by means of his arti-

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<sup>1.</sup> Bannerjea, S. N., A Nation in Making, p. 154.

<sup>2.</sup> Zacharias, Renascent India, p. 130.

<sup>3.</sup> Chinthamani, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

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cles in the 'Kesari' and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment4 while the Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balkrishna, were tried for the crime and sentenced to death.5 "There has never been any evidence", writes H. C. E. Zacharias, "that Tilak had anything to do with this murder, that his writings incited to such acts, or even that he personally favoured them."6 The Natu Sardars (landlords) who had the courage to protest against the excesses of the Plague Committee were arrested under the infamous Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 and kept in prison without trial? Dadabhai was indignant. He said "Gagging the press is simply suicidal. There rever was a greater mistake than to prosecute Mr. Tilak and those poor editors who were, perhaps not known beyond their villages. This was a new departure from the principles on which British Government was conducted. Now you are introducing the Russian system under which a man can be arrested and imprisoned and sent away without trial and without reason being given."8 About the Natu case he wrote to Wacha that "it is unfortunate for the Government themselves. It is the greatest blow they have given to British power. The Natu brothers were imprisoned without trial "in connection with the plague riots. The side of the insecurity of liberty will now never leave the Indian mind."9 The Hindu of Madras commenting on the trial wrote "The progress of the people has been pushed back fifty years. The next aim of our enemies will be the Congress which they want to see stamped out."

The Congress of the year entered a vigorous protest against the use of these obsolete regulations and urged for the repeal of the three cognate measures for the three presidencies, Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819 and Bombay Regulation lation XXV of 1827.10 "Security of life and property", declared Surendranath, "were the great foundations on which rested the vast, the stupendous, the colossal fabric of British rule in India and these would be seriously endangered if one could be arrested and

5. Ibid., p. 51.

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<sup>4.</sup> Lovett, V., A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement, p. 52.

<sup>6.</sup> Zacharias, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>7.</sup> Chintamani, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

<sup>8.</sup> Masani, op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid., pp. 398-403.

<sup>10.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1897, pp. 27-28.

kept in custody for months together without trial". It was also in this year that the first steps were taken for the suppression of liberty of speech by widening the scope of the law of sedition by amending section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. The Congress protest against these measures went unheeded.

It is interesting to record here moderate Malabari's view about Tilak.

"All this makes it the easier for us, then, to put in a word here for that bete noire of British opinion, and the implacable opponent of all-round progress, the Editor of the Mahratta and the Kesari. Many have been the efforts made to bring this eccentric meteor in a line with the steadier lights of our political constellation. But the public of Bombay have, at any rate, seen little in Mr. 'Tilak's acts and utterances to draw them to him as a leader, much less as a guide. His movement to revive the memory of Shivaji, though deserving of sympathy from every generous heart so far as it aims at the unity of the Dekkan, is historically an anachronism. Shivaji could no more rise again in India than could Bruce or Wallace rise once more to upset the balance of the British Union. Even if the founder of the Mahratta dynasty were to come back for a time to the scenes of his past glory, it is not unreasonable to assume that he would be content with the subhadarship of the Dekkan, with perhaps a seat on the Governor of Bombay's Council or in the Supreme Legislature. Shivaji Maharajah was a much shrewder politician than some of his admiring co-religionists of the present time appear to think.

Mr. Tilak's other movement, the Ganpati Melá (an annual demonstration in honour of the elephant-headed god), cuts away the very root of political unity, setting the lower orders of the Hindu population against the Mahomedan, between whom previously reigned an almost complete harmony of tastes and pursuits on public holidays. What folly, this, to be foisted on poor old Ganpati, the god of wisdom! The fact is, a vast amount of harm has been done in India by the misreading of history, and by the construing of false analogies.

11. Ibid., p. 29.

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It would be ungenerous now to deny that there is a phase of Mr. Tilak's life, personal to himself, which appeals to the sympathy of those who, like the present writer, are unacquainted with him. and who often feel repelled by his methods of work. His sincerity of purpose, his simplicity and abstemiousness of habits, joined to a rugged independence, have an attraction for those who are getting sick of the meritricious refinement of perhaps too many of our English-educated men. To them it seems a pity that, with his natural shrewdness, he cannot rise above the narrow earth-bound horizon to which his little clique has condemned him. But whatever his faults, he possesses a virtue that redeems not a few of them, the virtue, namely, of character. That seems to be the secret of his popularity with the sturdy sons of Maharashtra, keenscented, quick to take offence, always on the look-out for the appearance of a deliverer and redeemer of wrongs, past and present, sometimes real, often imaginary. Such being the case, need we wonder at Mr. Tilak's second return to the Legislative Council?

It may now, perhaps, be conceded that to ask for proof positive of this or that charge against the soldiers or the subordinates of the Plague Committee at work, would be to silence the voice of complaint; or to protest that no irregularity of any kind occurred in course of the delicate and painful investigations, would be to assume an infallibility beyond human comprehension. Let us admit at once that the employment of soldiers, under the peculiar circumstances of Poona, was, in a manner, forced upon the authorities, that it become a necessary evil for which the leaders of Poona Society were more to blame than the authorities; and that no serious outrage was attempted. But what excuse could be pleaded or Mr. Rand's employment here, at such a crisis, with a full knowledge of his unpopularity at another centre of Brahmanic orthodoxy? A prompt transfer, even later, when that officer's life began to be threatened, might have averted his murder along with that of poor Mr. Ayerst, and the serious complications that followed. But unbending is a virtue the British Executive in India are too slow to learn. If it came to that, they would rather lose the country than give up their pet theories of administration."12

The next few years were very crucial for the Congress. The Proceedings of the Congress well described the situation. "The

12- Malabari, Behramji M., India in 1897, Bombay, 1898.

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he he policy of aggression abroad and repression at home was in full swing and public opinion whether in India or in England was entirely helpless before the sweeping tide of Imperialistic Jingoism. The dark shadow of famine still lingered in the land and the poor people that survived that calamity were only to be squeezed the harder for the taxes, the Government of India had declined the offer of help made by Her Majesty's Government towards meeting the expenses of the frontier war, the new sedition law had become an accomplished fact, the weak and panic-stricken attitude of the Government which struck terror and spread confusion in the land in the summer of 1897 had not been given up, the utterances as well as the policy of Lord George Hamilton more especially his covert attack on higher education and his reference to India among the 'savage' countries of the world had caused general disgust." 13

It was under these circumstances that the Congress was to meet at Madras under the presidency of A. M. Bose. Many of the leading men replied to the invitations of the Reception Committee in term of despair. "What is the good", they asked, "of the National Congress and all political agitation—thoroughly constitutional and loyal, no doubt, but entirely divorced from the sympathy of the rulers who are now opposed to the liberty of speech and liberty of the press and who seriously believe that liberal education is only a mischievous evil in India." No wonder then that there was a distinct fall in the number of the delegates which were 620 only against 1163 in the Madras session of 1894. The number had risen to 1584 in 1895 but came down at Calcutta and Amraoti to 780 and 692 respectively. The Proceedings state "when famine, pestilence, and the anger of the rulers play havoc with the life, health and personal liberty of the people, mild and loyal subjects like the Indians are apt to show abated enthusiasm in poitical agitation."14 Frederick Grubb, who attended this Congress, who greatly impressed, as he wrote later, by the "immense gathering, the rapt attention of the delegates and the serious statesmanlike character of nearly all the speeches ..... " Formerly he said "it was a Congress of petitioners, now it is a Congress of men and women determined to win their freedom." There was also a change in the financing of the Congress. Previously the large

<sup>13.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1898, p. 1.

<sup>14. .</sup>The Hindu, January 27, 1936. Frederick Grubb's article.

donations of the rich people had defrayed the expenses of the Congress. Now that aid was not available to that extent and a much larger number of small contributions had to be obtained. The Congress was already on its way to a 4 Anna Franchise.

It was when the atmosphere was so charged with the forces that make for unrest that Lord Curzon assumed the Vicerovalty of India. In one of his earliest speeches delivered just after his carliest speeches delivered just after his appointment as Vicerov of India he had observed that the essential qualifications of a Vicerov of India were "courage and sympathy." He had courage in abundance, courage to defy public opinion and to exalt his personal ideals above those of the community he governed; of sympathy he had but little. "I love India", he said, "its people, its history, its Government, the complexities of its civilization and life." But he loved them in his own way which they did not appreciate. There was little that he did which did not cause resentment not against individuals but against the whole race, the entire regime and prepared the way for their difficulties and embarrassments from which the Government long suffered.15 Seven long years of his office were a period of drawn out agony for India. He inflicted "in almost breathless succession one contentious measure after another to which the people took the strongest exception. The dominant. note of his policy throughout this period was that India was and must remain a possession of England, that England's Imperial grip over India should be tightened and that no political advance should be thought of. "To him India was a country" as Gokhale said in his presidential address at the Benares session "where the Englishmen were to monopolize for all time, all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indians' only business was to be governed and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country, and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence he proceeded in the end to repress them." And how wise were Gol-hale's words: "I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India." The Secretaries of State at this time were no better.

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<sup>15.</sup> Bannerjea, op. cit., p. 156.

Fir Henry Fowler, a liberal Secretary could not have been more by," as Chintamani puts it, "if he had called himself one. He succeeded by Lord George Hamilton and the change was for like jumping from the frying pan into the fire. If Sir Henry owler chastised India with whips, Lord George Hamilton chastised with scorpions." 16

Curzon had come out to India determined to crush the rising of Nationalism. And as we gleen through his private corresindence with George Hamilton, we are left in doubt about his otives. His first act was to "cut out from native honours list", the wrote to George Hamilton, "all the names of those of whom have learned that they were associated with anti-British papers societies." He blamed Lord Sandhurst, Governor of Bombay to had been recommending and honouring such men. 17 He made arching enquiries about those who were financing the Congress. he names of Maharaja of Darbhanga, Lakshmeswar Singh and aia of Vizianagrm, Sir Pasupati Ananda Gajapati and Raja of amnad in Madras figured prominently. 18 Maharaja Lakshmeswar ingh, it may be added was one of the earliest patrons of the longress and used to give Rs. 10,000 annually to its funds, besides ther donations. 19 According to the secret note prepared by the uperintendent of Thagi and Dakaiti in 1899 on 'Congress Support', 1888 it was rumoured that he was to be nominated President of e Congress to be held at Allahabad and that he intended to ntribute a large sum. In 1890 he and the Raja of Vizianagram ch subscribed Rs. 5,000 towards the cost of Babu Surendra Nath merji (sic)'s deputation to England to lecture on behalf of the ongress. In the same year he was said to have given Rs. 2,000 Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee as his first instalment towards the expenses the next Congress. In 1894 Babu Surendra Nath Banerji menned at a meeting held on the 2nd February that in the previous ar the Maharaja had contributed Rs. 20,000. In 1893 and 1895 'Indian Friend' who was supposed to be the Maharaja of

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<sup>16.</sup> Chintamani, op. cit., pp. 32-35.

<sup>17.</sup> Curzon's letter to Hamilton, June 7, 1899, Calcutta Review, April 1954, 40.

<sup>18.</sup> For details refer to Curzon's letters to Hamilton, dated June 28, 1899, superstance 2nd 1899, Sept. 27, 1899. Calcutta Review, April 1954, pp. 43-46.

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Darbhanga, gave Rs. 15,000 to the permanent fund of the Congress and Rs. 8,000 to the Special Fund for India." There was also a suspicion that Thakur of Gondal had also contributed to the Congress fund. The Raja of Ramnad was said to have given Rs. 10,000 About the Maharaja of Gaekwad, it was believed, that he was financing Dadabhai Naoroji. Col. Biddulph, Agent to the Governor-General had informed the Government of India that the Gaekwad had taken out over a lakh of rupees out of the Treasury without the knowledge of the Minister presumably for some secret purpose The Ahmadabad Times had coroborrated that the Gaekwad had given £ 1000 to Naoroji.20 The Chief Secretary, Bengal mentioned in his confidential note that the principal subscribers of the Congress were the members of the legal profession and their clients. Besides grandsons of the late Raja Ligambar Mittra, Raja Binoi Krishna Deb of the Sobhabazar family, Maharaja Yagendra Nath Roy of Nator in Raj Shahi, Raja Sashishikaseshwar Roy of Gahirpr in Raj Shahi, Maharaja Suryyakanta Acharyya of Mymensingh, Rai Yotendra Nath Chaudhuri of Gatri were the regular subscribers. The members of Debendra Nath Tagore's family were said to be active Congressmen.

Maharaja of Baroda (Maharaja Gayaji Rao Gaekwad) was known for his progressive views. He held a reception in honour of Lajpat Rai in London. After the guests had left, he had a frank talk with Lajpat Rai and the great revolutionary leader Shyamji Krishan Verma and to quote Lajpat Rai, "he laid bare his breast before us." Maharani Sharnamayi of Kasimbazar and Rajas of Kolhapur and Junagad were also believed to be subscribers and supporters of Congress. Curzon expressed his displeasure to the Gaekwad of Baroda. He refuted the Raja's contention that the Congress was a social organisation which had the backing of the educated classes. According to him, the Congress was in the last resort animated by hostile feelings towards the Government. In fact, the Government apprehended as early as 1891 that the princes might be persuaded by the Congress to believe that the Government of India or the Viceroy personally

<sup>20.</sup> Hamilton Papers, D. 510/2, Vol. 14, pp. 63-70; Select Documents, "The Evolution of India and Pakistan", (1858-1947), edited by C. H. Philips, 21. Ibid.

(as Hume puts it) favoured the Congress and might thus be able to squeeze money from them.<sup>22</sup>

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Having thus probed into the working of the premier political organisation of the country, Curzon struck his first blow by ordering the officialization of the Calcutta Corporation.23 This measure threw Calcutta into a vortex of agitation and there was wide-spread The Lucknow Congress of 1899 which met under resentment. the presidency of Romesh Chandra24 Dutt strongly protested against this measure and passed a resolution "That this Congress expresses its disapproval of the reactionary policy of local self-Government as evidenced by the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act in face of the unanimous opposition of the people and by the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a similar measure which will have the effect of seriously jeopardizing the principle of local self government."25 Dutt in his Presidential address centended that it was not possible to save India from "distress and discontent, from improverishment and famines", and to spread instead "prosperity and contentment", and to evolve the "zealous and loyal and spontaneous support" of the nation till the people were not given a share in the administration of their own affairs. He held that intensity and frequency of famines was largely due to the poverty caused by over-assessment of land revenue.26 Curzon was unwilling to agree to these views. He himself prepared a reply to Dutt's charge against the Government and asserted that famines were caused by want of rain and improvement in assessment would at the most mitigate and prevent This session was also important for the Congress constitution which was for the first time definitely framed here and

<sup>22.</sup> Home—Public, January, 1891, Nos. 1-4, refer to Note by C. S. Bayley, General Superintendent of Operations for the suppression of Thagi and Dakaity, 18th June, 1899, and report of Bombay Police, 20th July. 1899, Hamilton Correspondence, D. 510/2, fos. 63 ff. and D. 510/3, fos. 3388 and Curzon's Memorandum of conversation with Gaekwad on 28th June 1899, Foreign Department Secret I, December 1903, Proceedings 8 quoted in S. Gopal: British Policy in India, 1858-1905.

<sup>23.</sup> Bannerjea, op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>24.</sup> Mazumdar, op. cit., p. xxiv.

<sup>25.</sup> Bannerjea. op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>26.</sup> Dutt R. C., Open Letters to Lord Curzon and Speeches (1897-1900); R. P. Mitra, Printer, Publisher & Bookseller, Calcutta, 1904, Presidential Speech

at Congress Session, Lucknow, 1899.

its creed was defined as follows. "The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by all constitutional means the interests and well-being of the people of the Indian Empire." At this Congress was passed a resolution urging the appointment of an agency in England for the purpose of organising, in collaboration with the British Committee, public meetings for the dissemination of information on Indian subjects and the creation of a fund for the purpose. But no immediate action was taken to give effect to this resolution. Dadabhai and Hume, it may be said to their credit, fully realised the importance of appealing to the vouth to "come forward and hold aloft the torch of freedom". An important manifesto was issued over the signature of Hume, Dadabhai and Wedderburn on October 19, 1900 and was addressed to the President-designate of the Lahore session.

The next session of the Congress at Lahore in 1900 was significant for a Bengali pleader, Babu Kali Prosanna Roy was elected as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. And as Surendranath wrote: "It is evident if evidence was needed, of the good feeling between Bengalees and Punjabis. It disapproves the calumny that the martial races hold in contempt the people of our provinces".29 Instead of erecting a temporary pandal, it was decided by the organisers to build a permanent hall which could be used for meetings later on. This hall was named after Bradlaugh, though some of the Arya Samajists opposed it.30 expected death of L. Jaishi Ram who was regarded as "the light and life of the Congress movement" in the Punjab in the prince of life was an "irreparable loss to the cause and the country and cast a shadow over the approaching session of the Congress.31 A formal proposal for the preferential treatment of home-made products was for the first time submitted to the Subjects Committee of the Congress at the session of the Congress held at Ahmedabad in 1902. The proposal, however, could not be passed due to differences of opinion. The delegates' fee raised at the last session of the Congress from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 to meet the deficit of the

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<sup>27.</sup> Mazumdar, op. cit., p. xxiv.

<sup>28.</sup> Bannerjea, op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>30.</sup> Laipat Rai: Story of My Life, op. cit., p. 91

congress organ "India" which came into effect from this session as mainly responsible for the thinner attendance of delegates at ome of the the subsequent Congress.32 Surendranath Bannerjea in is presidential address declared "The present transition period nust soon be brought to an end. The policy of retrogression and repression must give way to the older and statesmanlike policy of trust in the people, sympathy in their aspirations and political justice without racial bias or prejudice,"33 and then he sounded a note of warning to the government: "All history proclaims the with that autocratic power is devoid of the elements of permanence and that authority to be permanent must be planted deep in the affections of the people and derive its sustaining breath from the vitalising springs of enthusiasm."34 To the young men of the country Surendranath's appeal was direct and forceful. "Rally round the banner of the Congress to hold it aloft and to carry it from town to town, from district to district and from province to province, spreading broadcast from one end of the country to the other the saving lessons of the Congress."35

Curzon's University Bill had sent a wave of indignation throughout the country. The motive which underlay his policy was the tightening of Government control, the strangling of all independence in matters educational and the eventual weakening of all national movement and national sentiment. As as Lajpat Rai put it. His University legislation which shocked the country beyond measure, was formulated, it may be added at a secret Educational Conference held at Simla to which no Indian was admitted. The Congress passed a resolution objecting strongly to the recommendations of the Commission whose object it was to officialize the Senate and Syndicate and thus convert the University into a Department of the Government. The authorities had to bend partially to the agitation. Second grade colleges were retained, though the law classes were stopped, central law colleges in the

<sup>32.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33.</sup> Proc. I.N.C., 1902, p. xxi.

<sup>34.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35.</sup> Ibid., p. xxxi.

<sup>36.</sup> Lajpat Rai: Young India, pp. 157-58.

<sup>37.</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>38.</sup> Proc., I.N.C., 1902, p. 106

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Presidency towns were established and the Government did not fix any minimum college fee.<sup>39</sup>

As Mr. Gandhi (later on Mahatma Gandhi) had appeared at the last session of the Congress as a petitioner on behalf of 1,00,000 British Indians in South Africa, Surendranath also touched un this problem in his presidential address "It was a matter of profound regret", he said, "that the unfortunate condition of Indians in South Africa and the degrading disabilities to which they are subjected have undergone no change for the better despite the repeated appeals to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and Parliament."40 It may be of interest to recall that it was in 1894 that the Congress first raised the question of racial discrimination in South Africa and passed a resolution that "the Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects resident in the South African colonies by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them."41 These resolutions were repeated year after year but to little effect and the Congress of 1903 while urging upon the attention of the Government the serious grievances of Indian settlers regretted to "observe that the imperialistic spirit of British colonies instead of mitigating the anti-Indian legislation threatens to impose further hardships on His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects there."

Curzon's darbar of 1902 to mark the coronation of the successor of Queen Victoria had raised a volley of protests from all over the country. A severe famine had just stalked the land and millions had perished. Lal Mohan Ghose, in his presidential address at the Madras Session in 1903 had to warn the Government that "nothing could seem more heartless than the spectacle of a great Government imposing the heaviest taxation upon the poorest population in the world and then lavishly spending the money so obtained over fire-works and pompous pageants while millions of the poor were dying of starvation". While condemning the Universities Bill, Surendranath Bannerjea pointed out that "Government was taking control of higher education, as it had limited the civil

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<sup>39.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41.</sup> Besant Annie: How India Fought for Freedom, p. 204. 42. Proc., I.N.C., 1902, p. vii

<sup>43.</sup> Zacharias, op. cit., p. 138.

freedom of their corporations. The new-fangled Imperialism was darkening the prospects of human freedom. Lord Curzon's "name would go down to posterity indissolubly linked with a reactionary and retrograde measure which has been condemned by the unanimous opinion of educated India." It was at the session in 1902 that the Congress passed a resolution condemning the policy of the Government in "breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations" and deprecated the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Divisions and portions of Chotanagpur Division and also the separation of the District of Ganjam and the agency tracts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts from the Madras Presidency." 45

But Congress resolutions seemed to have no effect on Lord Curzon who treated this organisation with "a superior air of contempt". Hyndman, the editor of the paper 'Justice' of New York described Lord Curzon as the "most hopeless specimen of the aristocratic prig that has even been pitch-forked into the highest place."46 In fact, Congress seemed to be helpless before such an autocrat before whom such a form of petitioning carried no weight. And even there were suggestions that the Congress as such should be dissolved. And as a correspondent of the Amrit Bazar Patrika wrote: "It would be better if the Congress were split up into Provincial Congress-lings and these Congress-lings with the help of the vernacular language, will succeed far better than the Congress has been able to do with its present methods". The Patrika was of the opinion that the Congress had no doubt a great value if it could be converted from its present moribund position to a healthy one. And this was Curzon's ambition as he wrote to George Hamilton, "My belief is that the best men in the Congress are more and more seeing the helplessness of their cause and indeed many of their papers have begun to argue that they had better trust to me to give them as much as I can instead of wasting their energies in clamouring for what no Viceroy is likely to give them at all".47 Educated Indians were shrewd enough

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<sup>44.</sup> Annie Besant, op. cit., p. 383

<sup>45.</sup> Ibid., p. 390.

<sup>46.</sup> Hyndman in his paper 'Justice', December 15, 1905.

<sup>47.</sup> Calcutta Review, April 1954, p. 51.

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to look through the game and they arrived at the conclusion as Lajpat Rai wrote that "it was a mistake to look to the Government to do things or to follow a policy which might quicken the national pulse, strengthen the Nationalist movement or add to the efficiency of the people so as to fit them to stand on their legs and desire to get rid of the leading strings in which they were held by the British."48 The same theme was stressed by the famous economist Romesh C. Dutt in his open letters to Lord Curzon. He expected his countrymen not to give way to despondency and have faith in themselves. He asked them not to listen to the advice of the so-called 'candid friend' that their agitation was "useless or futile". There was hardly a town or a village in India where the idea of progress and self-Government had not seized the minds of the educated persons who were determined to obtain a real share in the administration of their country. The struggle for the achievement of self-Government should be carried on with determination and conviction 49

It was under the gloom created by Lord Curzon's policy which had been rightly characterised in the official report of the Congress as "repressive and reactionary" that the Indian National Congress met in Bombay under the presidentship of Sir Henry Cotton. There had grown up a feeling of deep resentment "when a series of repressive measures—both legislative and administrative—were forced by him on the country in the teeth of the fiercest opposition from the public<sup>50</sup>..... "The gathering was the largest since 1895, 1010 delegates being present.

The President declared the Congress to be "the voice and brain of the country" whose function was "to give united and authoritative expression to views on which there is already a consensus of opinion in the country". Sir Cotton bade his hearers to avoid depression and not to submit with resignation to the policy of the Government and he held up as the ideal—"India taking rank as a Nation among the Nations of the East". Autonomy is the

48. Young India, r. 158.

<sup>49.</sup> Romesh C. Dutt: Open Letters to Lord Curzon and Speeches. R. P. Mitra, Printers, Book-Seller & Co., Calcutta, 1904. The speech was made at Madras on February 4, 1902.

<sup>50.</sup> Besant Annie: How India Fought for Freedom, p. 393. 51. Ibid.

## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

key note of England's true relations with her colonies and "the key note also of India's destiny",52 he declared. Dr. H. S. Gour, a delegate, condemned the Universities Act which sealed up the portals of knowledge "with golden locks which would open only to golden keys". Lord Curzon would make education "the privilege of the rich and not the birthright of the poor", he concluded. C. Y. Chintamani referring to the Universities Act declared Curzon's motives to be political rather than educational. "A section of educated Indians", he said, "was found inconvenient and they were to be politically suppressed."53 The Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the "proposal of the Government of India for the partition of Bengal in any manner whatsoever." The division of the Bengali nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual and material progress involving the loss of various constitutional privileges which the province has so long enjoyed and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax-payer cannot at all afford,"54 its resolution said. The Bengallee, in its issue of December 28, 1904 commended Sir Henry Cotton's presidential speech and wrote, "Moderation is the keynote of this mighty pronouncement and Sir Henry's presentment of the principal demands put forward by the Congress leaves little to be desired."

Lord Curzon was, however, not a person to be deterred from his resolve. He sent his proposals to the Secretary of State on Feb. 2, 1905 and asked for an early approval. The opposition of the Congress, he remarked, was inspired by political motives and directed to a political end. Calcutta was the Centre for which the Congress party was manipulated throughout the whole of India. The perfection of their machinery and the tyranny which it enabled them to exercise were remarkable, so any measure which would divide Bengal, permit the growth of independent centres of activity and influence; dethrone Calcutta and weaken the influence of the lower class who had the entire organisation in their hands was intensely and hotly resented by them."55

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Ibid., p. 396. 52.

<sup>53.</sup> Ibid., p. 400.

<sup>54.</sup> Ibid., p. 412.

<sup>55.</sup> Curzon to Brodrich, 2nd February, 1905. Curzon Papers, Volume 164, Part no. 2; S. Gopal: British Policy in India (1858-1905), pp. 271-72.

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The Congress did not stop at merely passing resolutions opposing the partition of Bengal. It was decided by the delegates to the Eombay Congress headed by Babu Baikuntha Sen of Berhampur to hold a conference under the presidency of Sir Henry Cotton at the Calcutta Town Hall on the partition question.56 The object of the Conference was to make it clear to the "Government of India and the India Office that the people of Bengal had not accepted the scheme."57 The Bengallee (Jan. 4, 1905) urged the delegates in the mufassil to attend the Conference in large numbers and added: "The ground on which the partition is proposed is merely the old cry of "Divide & Rule" in disguise in which any civilized Government ought to be ashamed." The Conference met with unequivocal support from all sides. Commenting on it the Samjiyani wrote, "The Jamador, the pleader, and the poor raiyat from every district will come down to Calcutta to join the Conference at a considerable loss and inconvenience for a grave peril threatens to overwhelm them at no distant date. The extinction of the national life of Bengal is at hand and the dismay and disquietude is great.58 Hyndman, editor of the 'Justice', New York also wrote an article entitled "Modern Pirates and their victims" criticising the British Government for their repressive policy in India." Newspapers in India were warned not to publish these articles.<sup>59</sup> The friends of India also formed a society in London to get Home Rule for India and to carry on propaganda in the United Kingdom for the attainment of the objective.60

As the General Elections in England were approaching, the Congress decided to send a deputation to bring the claims of India before the electors and the candidates. The deputation was composed of Gokhale and Lajpat Rai. It was brought to the notice of the Government that the Government servants gave donations to defray the expenses of the deputation. On Risley's recommendation, Curzon issued orders that a Government servant may not take part in or subscribe in any political movement in India or relating

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<sup>56. &#</sup>x27;Samjivani', January, 1905.

<sup>57. &#</sup>x27;The Bengallee', January 4, 1905.

<sup>58. &#</sup>x27;Samjivani', January, 1905.

<sup>59.</sup> Home-Department, Public Proc. No. 16, June, 1905.

<sup>60.</sup> Home-Department, Public Proc. Nos. 2/4 August, 1905.

to Indian affairs. Nor may he attend any political meeting, his presence at which is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his public usefulness."61 Many of the Indian Newspapers expressed their misgivings about the success of this deputation.62 'The "New India" in its issue of Dec. 21, 1904 said "Past deputations to England never achieved anything of real worth and value and a fresh deputation next year may create some little feeling against the Unionists' parts in the British constituencies but cannot obtain the grant of any fundamental rights to the Indian people."63 Lajpat Rai had to tell the same story on his return. He wrote about the achievements of the deputation in his book "Young India": "They addressed a large number of meetings in Great Britain, made many friends, saw some politicians but they were not very hopeful as to the results. He frankly told his people that the British democracy was too busy with their own affairs to do anything for them, that the British Press was not willing to champion Indian aspirations that it was hard to get a hearing in England and that the influence and the credit of the Anglo-Indians was too strong to be met successfully by the necessarily inadequate agitation which the Congress could set up in England."64 His message was that "if they, the people of India, really cared for their country, they would have to strike the blow for freedom themselves."65 In fact, it meant the shifting of the emphasis from the British nation to the Indian people. The "New India" also wrote in the same strain, "The belief that England will of her own free will help the Indians out of their long-established civil servitude and establish there free institutions of Government which she herself values so much was once cherished but all hope has now been abandoned. Beyond all changes in the British Cabinet and the administrators in India, there are the permanent and powerful facts of selfish human nature and the established and permanent policy of the British Government." An era of self-help and self-reliance was approaching fast. Indian politics took a new turn, "the policy of "mendicancy" as the

<sup>61.</sup> Home-Department Public Proc. December 1905, Nos. 229-30.

<sup>62.</sup> Sandhya (Calcutta), January 11, 1905. The New India, December 21, 1904, Dacca Gazettee, December 19, 1904.

<sup>63. &#</sup>x27;The New India', December 21, 1904.

<sup>64.</sup> Lajpat Rai: Young India, pp. 159-60.

<sup>65.</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

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Congress method was derisively called, was henceforth even more seriously assailed."66

It was in London that Lajpat Rai met the revolutionary leader Shyamji Krishna Verma. His views were more or less similar to those of Lajpat Rai who thus recorded his impressions about Verma. "His political principles are sound to a large extent and he means well by his country. But he loves his money so much and is so conceited that it is impossible for a man to co-operate with him." Lajpat Rai, however, did not leave his bitter criticism of Gokhale and other English leaders of the Congress. The opening ceremony of the "India House" was performed at that time.

It is interesting to recall W. S. Blunt's opinion about Lajpat Rai who called on him in London. Blunt noted in his Diary that Lajpat Rai was "much more purely oriental but inferior in breeding and very much inferior in intelligence to Gokhale." To Blunt it seemed that he had a confused mind, timid and deprecatory in manner. His command of English was also poor. Lajpat Rai presented Blunt with a copy of his book, an account of his arrest and deportation. Blunt regarded it as a "naive and at places quite childish narrative which I hope may not get into the hands of our Anglo-Indians here to make support of."

The Congress met at Benares in 1905. It was a time of great crisis in the political future of the country. Never since the dark days of Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, so says the official report of the Congress, had India been so distracted, discontented, despondent, the victim of so many misfortunes, political and other, the target for so much scorn and calumny emanating from the highest quarters-its most moderate demands ridiculed and scouted, its most reasonable prayers greeted with a stiff negative, its noblest aspirations spurned and denounced as per mischief or solemn nonsense, its most cherished ideals hurled down from their pedestal and trodden underfoot—never had the condition of India been more critical than it was during the said ill-starred administration of Lord Curzon. The Official Secrets Act was passed in the teeth of universal opposition. Gagging Act was imposed. Education was crippled, it was made expensive and it was officialized. In the matter of employment in higher grades of the public service Indians

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<sup>66. &</sup>quot;The New India", December 21, 1904.

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were told that the barrier of race was between them and the higher posts which they coveted. The secret circulars encouraging the employment in a more extensive scale of Eurasians and Christians at the expense of the other communities also saw the light and did much to shake public confidence in his outward professions. The whole Indian people smarting under the afflictions of plague, famine, of broken pledges and repressive measures rose as one man against the monstrous and studied insult flung with a high magisterial air at everything that they loved and revered, at their religion, their literature, their social institutions. But that which above all led to the tremendous explosion of the natural feeling was the partition of Bengal—the cutting in twain of perhaps the most advanced and flourishing society in India, ostensibly in the interest of administrative efficiency, but really to break down the political power and influence of the educated opinion of Bengal. The partition was carried out on October 16th, 1905, in complete defiance of public opinion.

The observations of G. R. Elsmie Edinburgh are very revealing in this connection. He writes in his Thirty-five Years in the Punjab (1858-1893). "I have never seen the official papers about the much criticized 'Partition of Bengal but I have little doubt that Bernard's account of the state of things in 1872 prepared my mind to believe that the old manner of 'divide et impera' must sooner or later be acted upon."

On November 18th, Lord Curzon sailed from India. On February 13, 1906, Campbell Bannerman succeeded Balfour as Prime Minister of England. The appointment of John Morley as Secretary of State for India gave new hopes.

Thus under these circumstances the Congress met in "sorrow and affliction but also in hope and cheerful anticipation" at Benares (Varanasi) under the Presidentship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The influence of the Congress was on the wane and as A. C. Mazumdar writes: "The efforts of the Congress during this period were almost paralyzed and the bulk of the people nearly lost all confidence in its propaganda." All this was mainly due to the helplessness of the Congress against a Viceroy like Curzon. Benares, however, gave a great impetus to the movement. Looking at the splendid reception accorded to him, Gokhale thought that the "evil days of the country were over." He was so much overwhelmed

with peoples' enthusiasim that tears rolled in his eyes. 67 The Congress was attended by 756 delegates of whom 718 were Hindus, 17 Muhamadans, 14 Sikhs, 6 Parsis and one Christian. Gokhale in his presidential speech dealt with almost all the topics of the day,—Curzon's administration and its effects, the policy and political effects of the Partition of Bengal, the economic and political aspects of the Swadeshi movement, the aims and objects of the Congress movement and the attitude of the Anglo-Indian community towards it, and such reforms as required an immediate and early consideration.

He compared Curzon's administration to that of Aurangzeb and said: "There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralised and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression resulting in bitter exasperation all round. I think the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India ...... To him India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolize for all time all power, and talk all the while of duty. The India's only business was to be governed and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country, and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them. Even in his last farewell speech at Byculla Club in Bombay, India exists only as a scene of the Englishmen's labour with the toiling millions of the country-eighty per cent of the population-in the background. The remaining twenty per cent, for aught they are worth, might as well as gently swept into the sea."

Turning to the Partition of Bengal he denounced it as "a cruel wrong" and indignantly flung-back Lord Curzon's false assertion that the agitation was "manufactured", declaring that "nothing more intense, wide-spread, and spontaneous had been seen in Indian political agitation." Gokhale referred to the tremendous upheaval of popular feeling which had taken place in Bengal in consequence

67. Lajpat Rai: Story of My Life, p. 110.

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of the Partition, and would constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress. Not only had a wave of true national consciousness swept over the province "but the whole country has received an accession of strength of great importance." Though the Congress condemned the Partition of Bengal and the repressive measures, it did not adopt any resolution supporting boycott. It was merely referred to in the Resolution of protest against repressive measures "as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in moving the resolution described the boycott of foreign goods as "a last measure of despair", while seconding the resolution, Lala Lajpat'Rai called upon India "no longer to be content to be beggars, whining for favours, for if they really cared for their country, they would have to strike a blow for freedom themselves.' H. C. E. Zacharias writes in his A new turn was given to Indian politics, the Renascent India: policy of "mendicancy", as the Congress method was derisively called, was henceforth even more seriously assailed and significantly enough that great Indian Sinn Feiner (and adversery of Gokhale) -Tilak—was once more received with ovation, as at Benares he rose to speak on Passive Resistance, on Famine and on Poverty. Still more significant was the fact that a Resolution welcoming the Prince of Wales' visit to India was definitely opposed by a section of the delegates who severely criticised the Government for inviting Prince of Wales at a time when "severe famine prevailed in the country and people were dying of hunger, besides the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon had created great unrest.' They firmly believed that it was a political subterfuge, the intention of the visitors being to allay political unrest by diverting public unrest to gala shows. resolution was carried in the open session without any protest only by a private arrangement whereby Tilak and the Bengal delegates abstained from the meeting. Gokhale unable to dissuade Tilak had approached Lajpat Rai who played the role of a mediator. agreed to abstain from the meeting on the understanding that it would not be said that the resolution was carried unanimously. Two young Bengalis refused to abide by it and had to be kept out by force. As Dr. MacNicol puts it: "The Moderates are noto 644

carried off their feet but neither do they carry others off there feet."

Indeed the whole tenor of the speeches made in this Congress by leaders like Tilak and Lajpat Rai and the demeanour of a large section of the delegates demonstrated for the first time the emergence of a new school of politics within the Congress. This may be termed the nationalist as opposed to the old liberal school though in course of time their followers came to be known as Extremists and Moderates. The cleavage between the two was still further widened at the next session of the Congress held in Calcutta. The first open manifestation of the difference was in regard to the election of the President of this session. mists selected Tilak, but the Moderates including Gokhale were opposed to him. To get rid of this impasse the latter by secret negotiations, induced the Grand Old Man Dadabhai Naoroji, who was then in England to accept the Presidentship. maneouvre saved the situation and no other name was put forward against him. About Gokhale W. S. Blunt remarked that he "is a well-bred highly educated and intelligent man, a Mahratta Brahmin, I believe, and according to Nevinson, the leader of the National Movement. He expresses himself well in English and I have no doubt he is an able speaker. But he is clearly no leader of a revolution and they will affect nothing without one. lacks the enthusiasm which a belief in ultimate successes would give or even the bitterness which is also the force of hatred and despair. He told me that he did not like being called a moderate but if he represents anything that can be called extreme, there is small chance for India". Gokhale's estimate was that India might get provincial Self-Government in another 10 years i.e. in 1918.

The Congress session of 1906 was a memorable one. Never before had the Congress seen such a large gathering as that which assembled at Calcutta on the 26h, 27th, 28th and 29th of December in that memorable year. Bengal had been roused from end to end, all India sympathised with her wrongs and 1663 delegates of deep resentment against the country to give vent to their feelings ance on the first days was not less than 20,000 people. Dr. Rash Eehari Ghose, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, compared the British methods of persecution to those of the Russians and

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said "The Partition of Bengal was followed by Russian methods of Government with this difference that the officials who desired them were Englishmen while the Russian official is at least the countrymen of those whom he governs or misgoverns." The singing of national songs and even the cry of "Bande Mataram" were forbidden under severe penalties. This ordinance was fittingly succeeded by the prosecution of school boys, the quartering of military and punitive police, the prohibition and forcible dispersion of public meetings and these high-handed proceedings attained their crown and completion in the tragedy at Barisal when the provincial conference was dispersed by the police who wantonly broke the peace in order, I believe to keep the peace". "In Swadeshism", he declared, "you see the cradle of a new India. To speak of such a movement as disloyal is a lie and calumny".

Dadabhai Naoroji, in his Presidential address regarded the work of the Congress as twofold: "First and most important is the question of the policy and principles of the system of Government under which India is to be governed in the future". Secondly, to match the present system of administration and introduce reform bill it was "radically altered and based upon right principles and policy". He claimed for Indians in India all the control that Englishmen had in England. This was a necessity, he said, in order to remedy the great economic evil which was as the root of Indian Poverty. It was "absolutely necessary" for the progress "The whole matter can be and welfare of the Indian people. comprised in one word, self-Government or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies." The Congress accepted a formal Resolution expressing an opinion that the colonial form of self-government should be extended to India and enumerating the different reforms that should be immediately introduced as the steps leading to this ultimate goal. Dadahhai laid stress on "agitation". "Agitation", he said, is the civilized peaceful weapon of moral force when possible......Agitate: Agitate means inform. Inform the Indian people what their rights are and now and why should they obtain them and inform the British people of the rights of the Indian people and why they should grant them." The Congress through a resolution gave full support to the Bovcott movement inaugurated in Bengal as a protest against the partition of that province. It did not, however, support the view of Bepin Chandra Pal who wanted to extend it to other provinces as well, and give it a wider application than merely boycott of British goods so as to include boycott of councils, educational institutions, etc.

The Congress wholeheartedly supported the Swadeshi movement and requested the people to use indigenous goods even at a sacrifice. The Congress emphatically declared that the time had come to organise National education, literary, scientific and technical, for both girls and boys on national lines and under national control. The mover of this important resolution was Hirendra Nath Datta, the Hony. Secretary of the National Council of Education, who said, "Trust not your education to aliens. In native souls and native hands, the only hopes of succour rest". An outline of the Congress constitution was also discussed and passed, to be tried for a year. It recommended (a) the formation of Provincial Congress Committees which should form District Committees; (b) An All-India Congress Standing Committee; (c) two alternative schemes for selecting a President; and (d) a Subjects Committee for settling the programmes of the Congress each year.

The two sessions of the Congress in 1905 and 1906 are very important in one respect. They brought into prominence a new school in Indian politics within the Congress which definitely opposed to the severely constitutional methods of the older generation and had little faith in achieving freedom through the generosity of the British. Lajpat Rai explained the attitude of the new school when he said: "We are perfectly justified in trying to become arbiters of our own destiny and in trying to obtain freedom."

This new school made its power felt for the first time in the session of 1905. Although this fact was not generally recognised at the time discerning eyes could easily detect the emergence of a new factor of immense potentiality in Indian politics. This will be evident from the following observations of a foreigner on the session of 1905.

"Nevertheless, the Moderates were not prepared for a bold step. They shivered, and the Extremists among Congressmen were great leaders who refused to set any limitation on their national They formed a new party, called the Nationalist Party, and held

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an open session in the Congress camp to discuss their future programme. At this meeting. Tilak expounded the idea of passive resistance. They advocated self-help, and decided to exhort people to take to indigenous goods and help the boycott movement. They even thought of propagating withdrawal of all co-operation from the British in every sphere of administration and public activity.

"This development was a disturbing factor in the quiet manner of the Congress, and was bound to have it's repercussions. A difference quite naturally arose between the old Moderates and the Nationalists in the Subjects Committee. About the time of the Congress session, the Prince and Princess of Wales were on visit to India. In keeping with its traditions, the Congress (Moderates) wanted to offer them "most humbly and respectfully its loyal and dutiful welcome" to them. The Nationalists would have nothing of the kind, and opposed the resolution. An uneasy situation was created bordering on a crisis. But the old guard found a solution in the compromise that when the welcome resolution would be taken up, the Tilak group would walk out of the meet-So they walked out, and unity was maintained. There was another occasion threatening a split. The Moderates were not prepared to pass a resolution on the boycott. Swadeshi and National education in the way of the Nationalists wanted it. former yielded, and the session concluded peacefully."

The rise of this new school was no doubt largely due to the sense of frustration caused by the attitude of the Government towards the Congress demands. It was an immediate effect of the high-handed manner in which the unanimous protest of the people of Bengal against the partition of the province was brushed aside by the haughty Viceroy, and the severe measures of repression that followed this reactionary measure as noted above. Nevertheless we must stress the fact that the roots of the new school lie deeper, and it practically replaced the old school in the ferward march of the movement for freedom.

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## Reviews

THE KUVALAYAMĀLĀ OF UDDYOTANASŪRI (Part I-Text; Part II-Introduction and Notes), edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye (Singhī Jaina Grantha Mālā, Nos. 45 and 46), published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 15-50 and Rs. 21.

The Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanasūri has long been known to scholars. A manuscript of it was secured for the Government of Bombay as early as 1881-82. It is now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona. A Sanskrit version of the work made by Ratnaprabhasūri in the 13th cent. A.D. was published in 1916, but the original Prakrit work became known to scholars first from the extracts from it published in the Notes to the Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājaśekhara, edited by C. D. Dalal and R. A. Shastry in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1916. The original Prakrit text has now been edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye from two manuscripts—the only ones known to exist-viz. the aforementioned Poona manuscript and the other in the Big Bhāṇḍāra at Jaisalmer. The editing of a Prakrit text from only two MSS, neither of them being in good condition is always a difficult task and the difficulties in the present case were further increased by the numerous variations noticed in the MSS. Dr. Upadhye had to spend most of his leisure during the last sixteen years in editing this great work. He had at first little idea of the arduous nature of the work as he has graphically described in the letter he wrote to Muni Jinavijayaji on the 29th April 1959—"You know I paid my respects to Girnar on my way back from Somanātha . . . . If I had seen the height before climbing, I would not have dared to undertake the trip. Luckily, the dark morning did not disclose the height. Well, the same thing has happened in my working on the Kuvalayamālā. If I had any idea of the tremendous labour the text-constitution demanded, perhaps I would not have undertaken it." The first part of the Kuvalayamālā containing the text was published in 1959 after strenuous work of six years. The second part of the work has just been published after an interval of ten years. Dr. Upadhye must be feeling greatly relieved after seeing the work published.

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The Kuvalayamālā is one of the earliest known Prakrit Kathās of Champū type. Besides, its date is definitely known. It was completed on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight of Caitra when only one day was less for the Śaka era to reach seven hundred. As Jacobi has shown, this date corresponds to the 21st March A.D. 779. The work has several literary, historical, geographical and linguistic references and graphically describes the manners and customs of the people. It is thus a mine of information of historical and cultural importance. Scholars of ancient history, literature and culture will be grateful to Dr. Upadhye for having made this unique work accessible in a good critical edition.

The Kuvalavamālā is a dharma-kathā, its object being to show how the souls affected by the passions, krodha, māna,  $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ , lobha and moha, have to wander through miserable lives in the worldly existence until they get released by repentence and penance. Kuvalayamālā, the heroine, is one of these souls. She was the daughter of the king of Vijayāpurī and was married to Kuvalayacandra, a prince of Vinītā (Ayodhyā). They and their companions went through several lives until they reached the samavasarana of Mahāvīra. They then took  $d\bar{\imath}ksh\bar{a}$  from him and attained liberation in due course.

The stories of the lives of these five souls are very complicated as in Bāṇa's Kādambarī. Dr. Upadhye has first narrated them as in the text and then again broadly summarised them for easy understanding. He has discussed various questions connected with the present work such as the life and date of its author, the literary and historical information furnished by it, the socio-cultural glimpses noticed in it etc. At the editor's request the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala has added a detailed cultural note on the contents of the work with his characteristic penetrating insight. Part II contains a Sanskrit version of the story composed by Ratnaprabhasūri, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.D. The notes added at the end are both critical and explanatory and discuss fully several points of literary and historical interest.

The Kuvalayamālā is one of the few works in Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures which are definitely dated. The references to historical matters, literary works and contemporary dialects noticed

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therein have, therefore, great importance. Dr. Upadhye has discussed fully all such references in the introduction. See, for instance, the mention of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa and his capital Pavvāīyā. Dr. Upadhye has discussed the location of the capital and conjectured it to be modern Chāchar. The epithet Raṇahastin of the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja is another point of great interest; it is corroborated by some coins with that legend which had baffled scholars for a long time.

Like Bāṇa, Uddyotana also has eulogised earlier Sanskrit and Prakrit poets. Some of them like Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Pālittaya (Śrīpālita), Sālāhaṇa (Sātavāhana Hāla), Guṇāḍhya Bāṇa and Vimalānka are well known, but some are known from his work for the first time. His mention of a Club of Poets under the name to mean Ṣaṭprajña, but from the Avantisundarīkathā it appears to have been understood in the sense of fifty-six, as early as the time of Dāṇḍin. The reference to Rājarṣi Devagupta, who belonged to the Gupta family and was known for his right conduct, is another matter of more than common interest. One is tempted to identify him with the illustrious Gupta king Candragupta II, who bore that name (see the Vākāṭaka grants) and who also was a great poet. Devagupta is, however, here mentioned as the author of Tripuruṣacarita, which is otherwise unknown. It appears more likely that he was a Jaina author, but how he was a Rājarṣi is still a moot point.

Uddyotana's reference to eighteen dialects current in his time is also of great interest. Actually only sixteen have been named and described. One of them was the language of the Marahatthas. The words cited from it show that the Marathi language was then in the course of formation. There is another reference to the Gollas, which Dr. Agrawala understands in the sense of the people of the Godāvarī (Golā in Prakrit). This would mean, however, that there was another dialect current in Maharashtra besides Marathi. Dr. Upadhye's explanation that the Gollas were an itinerent tribe, akin to the Ābhīras, is more likely to be correct. He is, however, unable to explain adade or arade illustrating their speech.

There are a few points here and there on which one may not agree with the editor. He identifies the town of Vijayā with

Vijayadurga in the Ratnāgiri district on the western coast. Dr. Agrawala, on the other hand, would take it to be identical with the Ikṣvāku capital of that name (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) on the eastern coast. Uddyotanasūri does not give sufficient details for the location of this place, but when we read that Kuvalayacandra, starting for Vijayāpurī, joined a caravan bound for Kañcīpurī, Dr. Agrawala's location of the place appears to be preferable. As a matter of fact, much of the description of places in Jaina kathās appears to be more or less imaginary. This is my impression after studying the description of Rāmagiri in the Paūmacariya. Perhaps the references to places in the author's life are more authentic. The case of Pavvaīyā, the capital of Toramāṇa, has been discussed above.

Dr. Upadhye has added a long note on the identification of Vardhamānapura where Jinasena completed his *Harivamśa*. This point is discussed incidentally in a foot-note on pp. 105-107. We hold a different opinion on this matter, but it will have to be discussed in a separate article.

There is a slight inaccuracy in Dr. Agrawala's Cultural Note on p.123. He identifies Padmanagara mentioned by Uddyotana with modern Paunār. The latter is, however, now conclusively shown to be ancient Pravarapura. Padmanagara, if that is a historical place, may be identical with the place of the same name mentioned in a Rāṣṭrakūta grant found in Vidarbha—modern Padampur in the Bhandara district of Vidarbha, well known as the birth-place of Bhavabhūti.

Dr. Upadhye has shown that the Kuvalayamālā soon fell into oblivion. Very few authors seem to have known it after its Sanskrit version by Ratnaprabha became current. Later, Jaina authors, both of the Digambara and Svetāmbara sects, began to write Kathās in Sanskrit. The Udayasundarīkathā of Soddhala names some kathās composed by his Jaina contemporaries in Gujarat, but unfortunately none of them has come down to us.

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this Nati JUNGLE ALLIANCE: JAPAN AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY by Joyce C. Lebra, published by Donald More for Asia Pacific Press, Singapore, pp. xiv + 255.

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Although several works on the Indian National Army, the Azaa Hind Government and Subhas Chandra Bose have come out since Jitendra Nath Ghosh published his study of them in 1946, there is still necessity for fresh assessment of the motives, activities, methods and achievements of the Indian revolutionaries abroad and the impingements they produced on the life, thought and concerns of Indians on the mainland. In this context, the efforts of Joyce C. Lebra to make an objective and thorough study of the Indian National Army, its genesis, growth and ramification in South East Asian scene, deserve special consideration. from a wide range of official and private papers of India, Japan, Burma and other South East Asian countries, personal interviews conducted in Bangkok, India and Japan with persons who were actively engaged in the work of the revolutionary movement, and published works in English and Japanese, the book provides an admirable, balanced assessment of the concepts, goals and implementation of Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere in Asia and war aims, and the ingenuity with which Subhas Chandra Bose and his comrades tried to channel Japanese support for achieving their political ends. The book surveys the variegated activities of the early freedom fighters like Pritam Singh, Amar Singh, Captain Mohan Singh who co-operated with the Japanese army officials of F. Kikan. The part played by the Japanese agent Fujiwara in organising the Indian armymen who surrendered in Alor Star into an army of freedom fighters against the British to serve the war aims of the Japanese is ably described in the book. The birth of Indian National Army under the leadership of Mohan Singh is graphically portrayed (pp. 23-25). Of the prominent dramatis personae of the gripping drama, the figure of Fujiwara is the most alluring and impressive. As against the official Japanese wish to utilise Indian National Army as a show-piece and a puppet to be used to further their secret designs on India, Fujiwara seems to have nourished a sort of secret love for this organisation. On the stalemate over the Bangkok, Resolution he says "Secretly I was determined I would give up my life to prevent this from happening (possibility of destruction of the Indian National Army), standing between Japan and Indian National Army, I told this to Lieutenant Yamaguchi, putting everything in order and entrusting my heirs and my will to him". (p. 87-8). Fujiwara's idealistic sympathy for Indian independence is manifest at every stage of his involvement in the Indian affairs. This assumes larger proportions at the last stage of the story when in October 1945 at the time of the trial of the Indian National Army personnel, a subpoena was presented to him to appear as a witness in Delhi. The character of Fujiwara is well delineated by the author when she says, "Fujiwara was anxious to testify in Delhi on behalf of his Indian National Army and F.Kikkan comrades. He would attest that his Indian friends had risen to fight for Indian independence, not as Japanese puppets. This was the only way he could fulfil his obligation to his friends" (pp. 206-7). This fascinating character who is behind the history of Indian National Army till 1942 when he was replaced by colonel Iwakuro as Kikan chief, is little known to the students of the history of India's freedom struggle. The author has done a very good job in introducing him along with Pritam Singh and Mohan Singh.

The picture of Bose also emerges agreeably well. With admirable conciseness, the author brings out the personality of Bose. To give but one example, Joyce describes the first meeting Fujiwara had with Bose in his official residence in the Singapore suburbs. She says, "as Fujiwara watched, a huge noble figure emerged from the centre of the line smiling with dignified but casual assurance. It had to be Bose. He looked like a man men would follow. So this was the revolutionary all his Indian friends had begged be brought from Berlin. Bose's face bespoke confidence, friendliness, expectancy, and Fujiwara thought, a touch of the philosopher. Fujiwara was impressed even before Bose spoke". (p. 126). Bose's activities as head of the Indian National Army are delineated with extreme sympathy and understanding, and with detachment which few of the Indian writers could hardly ever attain. The lucidity of diction is marvellous and comprehensive accuracy, and scrupulous scholarly reverence for the recorded evidence are superb. The book also fulfils the qualities of a fine literary work; the skilfully constructed story has the intagliated grains of poesy in it. That makes the book highly readable and a notable addition to the existing literature on the

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RI AUROBINDO—AN INTERPRETATION. Edited by V. C. Joshi. Published by Vikas Publishing House Private Limited, Delhi, 1973, pp. X + 174. Price Rs. 25/-.

This book, issued under the auspices of Nehru Memorial Juseum and Library, is devoted to the interpretation of some ignificant aspects of the life and ideas of Sri Aurobindo. The even essays, contributed by six scholars, deal with the sage's life, hilosophy, poetry, political thought and vision of human unity. The essayist, circumscribed as his field is, could deal with his opic only in a general way, leaving much to be investigated and bund out by others.

The book includes studies on the growth of the man after 910—that is the period which put an end to his political activities and initiated his spiritual quest. But modern India cannot ignore he early phase of the philosopher's life which was steeped in the ationalist struggle. The editor is conscious of the defect when he says in the preface "I wish it had been possible to include in his volume an essay on the political thought of Sri Aurobindo in he pre-Pondicherry phase". His contention that this aspect of turobindo's life is available in other works, is not a valid reason or not including it here because, if it is so, the present studies also ave no special reason to appear now.

Better and more thorough studies on each of these topics are ready in the field to make little sense in producing a volume ontaining these essays. It seems the editor thought it wiser not include a bibliographical list in this volume; this cannot be saily explained away. Any number of studies centred round the sique personality of Sri Aurobindo will certainly be welcomed the reading public. But their justification lies in their acadesic worth and originality. The present work can hardly claim ther of these. With all these, it must be admitted, in fairness to be editor, that he has done a creditable job in presenting a rather efficult subject in homely, unaffected manner so as to give the sudent the feel of the subject.

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THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN KERALA, Compiled by the Regional Records Survey Committee, Kerala & Published by the Govt. of Kerala, Vol. I, (1600-1885), pp. xiii + 126 + viii, (1972), Price Rs. 2-50/-. Vol. II (1885-1938), Edited by Prof. P. K. K. Menon (1972), pp. X + 522 + 19. Price Rs. 10-20/-.

No serious study was ever attempted on the history of freedom movement in Kerala by any scholar, with the result that in the history of India's struggle for freedom the contributions made by Kerala find no place at all. When we speak about the movement for political emancipation of India, seldom do we realise that each political community in the vast subcontinent, had played its appointed role in a pre-eminently creditable way to produce the desired total effect as it had turned out to be. The history of nationalist movement consequently, has been made to appear as the story of the efforts of a few men with ideas and indomitable spirit, to free India from the clutches of the foreign imperialists. Only when we analyse the connected movements in the different states, that we are apt to get a glimpse of the broader base of the nationalist struggle, the sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women constituting the force majeure. It is in this context indeed, that the necessity arises for separate histories of the individual efforts of each political unit of India.

The book under review, is a remarkable work as it seeks to trace the different phases and strands of the freedom struggle in Kerala, in the larger backdrop of the Indian scene. Hereafter scholars cannot afford to dismiss the part played by this state as insignificant or obscure.

This book is compiled by the Regional Records Survey Committee, a creature of the Government of Kerala. The aim of the book, as mentioned in the first volume, is to present "an authoritative history of the freedom movement" so that "it would be a perennial source of inspiration to the future generation in the responsible task of preservation of the country's hard-earned political freedom and enhancement of the material prosperity and welfare" (p. iii). This lofty objective is found ably defeated in the first volume of the book. The first volume gives only a short historical introduction to the real drama that is being unfolded in the

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second. The brief and slender volume could have been more appropriately clubbed together with the second one. The editor of the first volume has chosen to give only a simplistic resume of certain topics, mostly socio-political themes, dealt with in the State Manuals of Cochin, Malabar and Travancore and some other historical works. The large amount of original sources lying in the Tamil Nadu Archives and National Archives, New Delhi, especially concerning the activities of Velu Thampi, Paliath Achan, Palassi Raja and others is left untouched. Had they been utilized in the compilation of this volume, it would have made itself a veritable store-house of information. It is sad indeed, to see the anonymous compiler, evidently a government servant, busying himself in pejorating the material he collected from local archives. The result is a rawboned history. Anonymity and weightlessness are the only attributes of this volume which is the product of a decades labour.

In clear contrast with this is the second volume edited by Prof. P. K. K. Menon. It suffers only from the opposite quality of the early volume—plenitude of primary sources. In research equipment, in variety of knowledge, in originality, in treatment, in depth and in comprehension of implications, the author stands on a high pedestal. In thirty seven chapters, he traces the story of the genesis of political consciousness and the spread of nationalist activities in Kerala till 1938. This pioneer work illumines our mind with its restraint in treatment of controversial issues, its sober approach and sane conclusions. It is a remarkable specimen of massive scholarship and critical acumen. One may, however, feel justified, if one holds the view that partial impairment of theme has occurred on account of inflating the bulk of the book with unrestrained quotes. A little pruning of the redundance would have made the volume more compact and a superb contribution to historical literature.

A word about the quality of printing and format of the work is warranted here. No printer, worth the name, would have dared to show so much disrespect to his art, as the printer of these volumes has done. As they are not meant for local consumption only, a greater sense of responsibility ought to have been felt by him, in producing them. It behoves on the printer to maintain a minimum standard of quality in printing and finish. This is a sad

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monument of a lamentable failure of our printing technique and publishing trade.

In preparing the next volume, efforts should be made to collect original sources from archives outside Kerala also and to bring out the book in a better way.

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THE REIGN OF AL-MUTAWAKKIL, by M. Shamsuddin Miah, M.A. Ph.D., Published by Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1969, Pp. xv + 381, Rs. 25/-.

This is the thesis submitted by the author for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of London, under the guidance of Professor Bernard Lewis. It is a detailed study of one of the most crucial periods in the history of the Abbasid dynasty.

The first chapter surveys the sources for the reign of Al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.). Both traditional and modern sources of information have been utilised. Besides literary sources, contemporary records, such as the *papyri* which give details of revenue administration, coins and archaeological finds are put to use, which make the biography both exhaustive and authentic.

In the second chapter, the author surveys the reign of the Caliph, his accession in 847 A.D., the events of his reign and his eventual assassination in 861 A.D.

The succession of Al-Mutawakkil, brother of the late Caliph, Al-Wathiq, in preference to the latter's sons, was largely due to the pressure exerted by the Turkish commanders. His reign was consequently significant as the starting point of political manoeuvring by the Turkish commanders, which proved the bane of later Abbasid history. The author has succinctly described the rise of the Turks to a position of dominance in the Abbasid court, the fall of the bureaucratic element and the resulting chaos in the country.

The ills that afflicted the empire in the time of Al-Mutawakkil were the continuing state of war with the Byzantine empire, the

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il e agitations that rocked several parts of the empire, and the struggle for political supremacy between the bureaucrats and the Turkish generals, culminating in the assassination of the Caliph. It was the nomination of Al-Muntasir, his eldest son, as heir-apparent and his later supersession, that precipitated a split in the country, and resulted in the murder of the Caliph. The Caliph seems to have sensed the breaking out of violence in the capital, as a result of sharp antagonism among the different political groups. The transfer of the capital first to Damascus and the later construction of 'Ja'farīyah', a new palace-city, in the vicinity of Samarra, the Abbasid capital, were in fact, as the author has pointed out, attempts to free himself from the hostile Turkish military junta. But as events turned out, the plan did not succeed.

The chapter on religious policy deals with the anti-Alid and anti-Mu'tezilah policy, which the Caliph followed in common with his predecessors (excepting Al-Ma'mūn), who allied themselves with the Sunni orthodoxy. The anti-Alid and anti-Mu'tazilah policy was a political necessity, as far as Al-Mutawakkil was concerned, in order to stem the rising tide of Shī'ism and Persianism. The religious policy of the Caliph took two forms: one, the support given to 'Ahl us-Sunnat Wa'l-Jamā'ah' and two, persecution of the Dhimmis. As the author has pertinently observed, the persecution of the Dhimmis was aimed at increasing his popularity with the ulama and the common people who were under their strong influence.

The author has dealt elaborately with the revenue administration under Al-Mutawakkil, basing his conclusions largely on the newly discovered papyri sources. The papyri sources are more dependable as they deal with instructions, reports, etc. relating to day-to-day administration. It would have been more useful for researchers, if relevant extracts of the papyri have been given in an appendix, as they are not easily available.

The final chapter traces the intellectual and cultural trends in the period of Al-Mutawakkil. One important result of the support given to Ahl us-Sunnat Wa'l-Jamā'ah was the efflorescence of the science of Hadith literature. The compilation of the 'Musnud' of Ibn Hanbal was soon followed by the outstanding works in Hadīth literature of Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Māja and Nasā'ī.

The book also contains three appendices, a detailed bibliography covering 30 pages and an index. One or more maps illustrating the extent of the empire and illustrations of coins and archaeological explorations at Ja'farīyah would have enhanced the value of the work.

The author and the publishers deserve commendation for publishing such an excellent work.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH, by Sarojini Regani, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1972, pp. 234 + viii, Rs. 2-59/-.

Andhra has an age old tradition of freedom struggle which may be traced to A.D. 1323, when Prolaya Nayaka and Kapaya Nayaka drove out Muslim troops left by Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq) and scon after restored Hindu rule over Warangal. It was to thwart the aggressive Hindu chiefs like Sambuvarayas of Tondaimandalam, Koppula of Pithapuram, the Reddis of Kondavidu, and the Velamas of Rajakonda that Muhammad bin Tughluq sent south two captive Hindu brothers, originally from Warangal, Harihara and Bukka, who promptly founded the Vijayanagara Empire, the bulwark of the Hindus against the foreign invaders.

The heroic deeds of a bygone age were forgotten, as was the great Empire, but it seems permissible to assume that the spirit of the Nayakas and the Reddis survived, albeit in a latent form, among the masses. For, the freedom struggle in Andhra during the present century is remarkable for intermittent mass uprisings, or 'riots', sometimes by leaderless people exasperated beyond measure by the misdeed of some local white ruler. The earliest of such risings was the Kakinada Riot of July 1907 (p. 39), five months before the Surat Congress. This was followed by the more serious Kotappa Konda riots of February 1909, and the (pp. 83-6), under Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, was a unique intake influenced the subsequent no-tax campaign and the Peda-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

nandipadu Satyagraha under Konda Venkatappaya called off at Gandhiji's direct intervention lest the satyagrahis should get out of control were the Government to apply inhuman modes of oppression (p. 93). Evidently the non-violent attitude of the masses was limited to a certain degree of toleration which was realised by the leaders.

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The Andhra leaders, particularly those at the top, like T. Prakasam, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and others were staunch followers of Gandhiji with implicit faith in non-violence. Did the attitude of the leaders moulded by Congress discipline and the aspiration of the masses determined by historical tradition create the hiatus which not only burst out into sporadic riots mentioned above, but the far more significant Rampa Rebellion which lasted from January 1922 to May 1924 (pp. 94-101)? The Rampa Rebellion was the only struggle of its kind in India, and its leader, Sitarama Raju, richly deserves a permanent niche in the gallery of Indian freedom fighters. Of this rebellion the British Additional Magistrate remarked: 'I am prepared to believe that the rebel leaders obtained followers by harping on the wrongs done by Britain.... The pillaging, the destruction of Government property, and the horror that marked, for example, the Moplah rebellion, are conspicuously absent here, and nothing is more noticeable than the respect shown to police officers who fell in the hands of the rebels.... I find that Raju, who ruled his followers with a firm hand, openly said that his object was to drive the British out of India. This explains his treatment of Indian officials and his refusal to allow Government property to be injured. As his intention was to set up another Government, he would naturally not destroy buildings, which he would require when his Government was established'. (p. 101).

There is also the possibility that the leaders and the mass were divided by non-political factors. The early political, that is, Congress leaders in Andhra—as indeed in whole South India—were mostly Brahmins, and it was much later that the Kamma, the Reddi, and the Raju communities joined the nationalist movement under the Congress. They formed the landlord class, and may be presumed to have had a hold over the peasantry not wielded by the urban elites, which the Brahmin leaders mostly were.

So effective was the leadership of the non-Brahmin communities that when the Satyagraha movement was launched in Andhra on 30 March 1930 (Telugu New Year's Day), people from all communities, including Adi Andhras and Christians, joined the movement—for the first time. And commenting on the arrest of the Congress leaders the Government report stated: 'As the leaders were arrested the lesser lights arose and the tone of the speeches became violent'. (pp. 47, 106, 116, 125).

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These incidents and not too illuminating official statements indicate the necessity for an analysis of the motivation and the socio-economic forces at work behind the façade of the Congress movements in Andhra under Gandhiji's leadership. Dr. Regani's work stimulates our curiosity, but her slim volume is devoted to briefly chronicling the main events under appropriate headings which leaves scope for a deeper and more detailed investigation. An intensive study is possible only at provincial level. In the meantime, however, the present work is welcome for what it contains, and it is to be hoped that each State will publish handy low-priced monographs on the same subject relative to each State.

A provincial history of the freedom movement should, however, avoid descriptions or discussions of well-known incidents of all-India character, for example, the Rowlatt Act and Satyagraha (pp. 58-9), or the Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy (pp. 63-5), or such unnecessary information as: 'Gandhiji, who had earned a great reputation for himself as a saintly leader by the successful conduction (sic) of Satyagraha in South Africa, Champaran district in Bihar, and also by giving relief to the peasants in the Khera district in Ahmedabad (sic)...' (p. 58). It would have been far more profitable if the author had given thumb-nail sketches of important Andhra leaders like, Harisarvothama Rao, who are little known outside Andhra.

The glaring defect of the book is poor editing and bad proof-reading. On p. 39 is stated: "The Government felt that the Sessions Judge, Kershasp, was too lenient in his attitude towards Harisarvottama Rao demoted him from the post of District Magistrate to that of a sub-Collector..." From the following pages it becomes apparent that Mr. Kershasp was an executive officer and not a judge. It is doubtful, however, if he was ever a District Magistrate (in those days usually an I.C.S. man), and in any

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isny case since he was later practically forced to resign, his career deserves more than incidental notice.

As for printing errors, one finds them throughout the book, few of the more interesting being Lord Amery for Mr. L. S. Amery (p. 144) and Monctan for Monckton (pp. 197 and 210).

The writing of the history of Andhra's freedom struggle presents some peculiar difficulties, as parts of the present state were included within the Madras Presidency while the rest formed a part of the Nizam's dominion, and the movements in the two regions were practically unrelated. Hence Dr. Regani has properly treated the movements of two regions in two different sections, but a much better account of the later phase of 'The Telengana Freedom Struggle' (pp. 167-234) could have been given on the basis of the published works like those by Mr. V. P. Menon, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Laik Ali. Unfortunately Dr. Regani has not given any reference, nor is her work provided with a bibliography.

A. K. MAJUMDAR.

TWILIGHT OR DAWN, THE POLITICAL CHANGE IN INDIA (1967-71), by Iqbal Narain, Shivalal Agarwala & Company, Agra 1972, Pp. ii + ii + 244, Rs. 20.

This book is a collection of studies published at various dates in different journals between 1968 and September 1971. The author belongs to the younger generation of Indian political scientists, and each of these studies offers his assessment of the situation at a given moment. An attempt has been made to edit the original studies in the light of later events, but much editing seems to have been done none too systematically, and one fails to get a correct or consistent picture of 'political change in India'.

Between the year of independence and 1967 the Indian National Congress had an overwhelming majority in the Parliament at Delhi and with the exception of Kerala, in the State legislatures. But the general elections of February 1967 resulted in a drastic reduction of the Congress majority at the Centre and its loss or near-loss of control over the legislatures of several important States. Commenting on these reverses at the time the author expressed his belief that "The singular contribution of the

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fourth general election has been to strike [drive?] a wedge in the one-party dominance and thereby unleash the forces of political polarization, hopefully to the advantage of both democracy and federalism in India" (49). But in the first half of 1969 two of the defeated Congress stalwarts, Kamaraj Nadar of Madras and S. K. Patil of Bombay, won parliamentary bye-elections with comfortable majorities. This prompted our author to say that their success had "rehabilitated the Syndicate, the group of old-line leaders who dominated the organization, and as such can be taken as an earnest for [of?] future political developments, particularly in the Congress" (163). However, the latter half of 1969 witnessed a split in the National Congress, brought about by the fact that the younger elements turned their backs on the older leaders and rallied round Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who sensed that the older men were manoeuvring to bring her down. Analysing these events the author ventured to state that "The Congress, or rather the two Congress organizations, will have wide fluctuations in their electoral fortunes, but it is unlikely that either will regain the dominance enjoyed during the 1947-1967 period" (159).

But in February 1971, Mrs. Gandhi held a snap parliamentary election—the fifth in the country's history—and the ballot boxes returned her with an overwhelming majority: such of the opposition parties as had formed an electoral alliance against her were just routed, the Old Congress among them. Undaunted by the fact that his earlier predictions had been proved wrong, our author calmly analysed the causes of the Prime Minister's success and pronounced it to be a "case of change in continuity" (201). By that he meant that the Indian voter had all along been in search of equality and social justice: he voted against the undivided Congress in 1967 because it had belied his hopes in this respect, and he voted for Indira Gandhi's New Congress in 1971 because by nationalising the bigger banks and derecognising the princes she became, it seems, for the masses the symbol of their yearning for justice and equality. All the same, our author could not completely shed his earlier views and ventured to suggest that the Jana Sangh, at least, might possibly stage a recovery in the State and local elections due to be held in 1972. He could not of course, foresee the Indo-Pakistani conflict of December 1971 and the faith which the ensuing victory inspired in Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. When the elections to the State assemblies were held

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early in March 1972, the Prime Minister's party again scored an overwhelming victory and the Jana Sangh was bady mauled even in its stronghold of Delhi. It is true, though, that the Jana Sangh polled a higher percentage of votes than it had in the parliamentary election of 1971.

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The foregoing paragraphs show how the course of Indian political developments in the last few years have obliged Iqbal Narain to modify his theories from time to time. When we examine his analysis of the detailed working of the political system in the wake of the general elections of 1967, we find that he has missed some significant facts. Take the case of Bengal. As a result of the elections of February 1967 a coalition government headed by Ajoy Mukherjee, the leader of a break-away Congress group, assumed office in West Bengal. In November that same year one of the ministers, P. C. Ghosh, withdrew from the coalition claiming that he had the backing of his followers in the Legislative Assembly. If his claim was correct, it would mean that the Government had lost the majority and was not entitled to carry on. P. C. Ghosh sent his resignation directly to Governor Dharma-The latter accepted it and called on Ajoy Mukherjee to summon the Legislative Assembly to test whether he still enjoyed a majority. The Chief Minister refused. The Governor thereupon fixed a last date for the summoning of the Assembly by the Chief Minister. The latter now agreed to face the Assembly but at a date one week later than that fixed by the Governor. Mr. Dharmavira thereupon dismissed Ajoy Mukherjee and installed P. C. Ghosh as the Chief Minister.

Two important constitutional issues were involved in this episode. Firstly, was it proper for the Governor to permit a Minister to tender his resignation directly to himself or ought he to have asked him to submit it in the first instance to the Chief Minister? Secondly, was it proper for the Chief Minister to refuse to summon the Assembly? For after all, as the constitutional head, the Governor has to see to it that there is fair play between the parties; and a government which insisted on retaining office even after it had lost its majority would clearly be violating the rules of the game. Iqbal Narain has passed over these issues in silence.

Very similar is the author's treatment of the office of President. At one point he seemingly promises to discuss the possible repercussions of the elections of 1967 and the split in the Congress ranks on the position of the President. It was natural to expect that the President would now play a more eventful role. like the Governor in those States which witnessed the downfall of the Congress and the rise of coalition ministries. brings us to the threshold of the problem and then bypasses it (164). Events however indicate that the President was in some cases unwilling to exercise his constitutional discretion and remained content to do the bidding of his Council of Ministers. A fairly evident example of this was the manner in which President's rule was introduced in Uttar Pradesh in October 1970. President Giri was away at the time on a state visit to Russia. There was in Uttar Pradesh a minority government which had been carrying on precariously with the support of the Prime Minister's party, which at this juncture withdrew it's support. position parties claimed that they were in a position to provide an alternative government. Governor Gopala Reddy, however, reported to the Centre that there existed a state of constitutional breakdown, the only answer to which was President's rule. messenger was despatched to Russia by special plane and returned with the proclamation of President's rule duly signed. afterwards, the President was back in the capital and was interviewed by the opposition leaders. The proclamation was withdrawn and a coalition government of the opposition parties inducted into office. The episode showed that the President had, at the behest of the Prime Minister and acting in the interests of her party, been willing to abdicate his function of being the constitutional custodian of the rules of fair play amidst party rivalries.

Iqbal Narain expresses himself a good part of the time in learned and somewhat abstruse language. To cite just one example: the succession of unstable coalition governments in the States, following the general elections of 1967, is characterised as 'politics of individuation'. To explain his meaning he gives the reader a process stands both for differentiation of contradictory and irreconcilable forces and for the synthesis into an organic unity of like-minded mutually complementary elements; both these forces

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ultimately having the potential to operate on the ideological plane" (158).

The author, moreover, concerns himself by and large with narrow, rather abstract issues, and misses the salient concrete realities of the Indian political scene. To understand this, we need to go back to 1920. In that year, at the Nagpur session, Mahatma Gandhi imposed his will on the Indian National Congress and got it to accept changes in its creed and organisation. A working committee was set up, on which the Congress organisation was made to hinge, and in the composition of which the Congress president was given a large say. However, from 1920 till the achievement of independence in 1947, Mahatma Gandhi was the uncrowned king of the Congress and the Indian masses. At crucial moments it was to him that the leaders and the rank and file looked up for the decisive word. Once independence was attained, Gandhi did not put forth his hand to grasp at office—he did not even enter the Constituent Assembly. All the same, he continued to dominate the Congress and the nation, and Prime Minister Nehru took second place. On January 30, 1948, Mahatma Gandhi was removed from the scene in tragic circumstances and, from that time on, Nehru's was the dominant personality. India's defeat at the hands of the Chinese in 1962 dimmed Nehru's lustre somewhat in the nation's eyes, but still he continued to dominate the Congress. His death in 1964 appeared to provide the older leaders who controlled the Congress organisation with the opportunity to assert themselves. Indeed, Kamaraj Nadar was openly talked of as the king-maker, and was believed to have been mainly instrumental in getting Lal Bahadur Shastri elevated to the post of Prime Minister in succession to Nehru and later Indira Gandhi in succession to Shastri.

Poll reverses have been observed to have a demoralising effect on Indian politicians and been followed by defections to the winning side. The reverses suffered by the Congress in the general elections of 1967 apparently shook the faith of the older party leaders in Mrs. Gandhi's ability to win elections and enable their party to continue in office. The differences between Mrs. Gandhi and these party leaders emerged into the full glare of publicity in the presidential election of 1969. On the eve of the election, the Prime Minister in a spectacular move nationalised 14 major

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banks. This secured her the support of the parties of the Left. and her candidate, V. V. Giri, succeeded though only with a fairly narrow margin. The presidential election being an indirect one, in which only the elected members of Parliament and the State assemblies participate, the outcome showed that among the upper ranks of politicians the forces ranged for and against the Prime Minister were almost evenly balanced. But the older Congress leaders had by now clung too long to power and office, and this had bred discontent among the younger men who were awaiting their turn. These rallied round Indira Gandhi. They enthusiastically joined her in creating the image of their party as one committed to secularism and economic equality. Igbal Narain believes that this had an impact on the electorate and accounts for Mrs. Gandhi's victory in the fifth parliamentary election. At any rate, with that election and still more the State Assembly elections of 1972, we have a return to the dominance of one person and one party as in the days of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Iqbal Narain believes that the Indian voter has increasingly given greater evidence of political maturity, and exercises his vote after considering the programmes of the parties. However, a more adequate analysis might show that the voter has also exhibited a certain indifference towards the question of the maintenance of standards of public morality. The Simon Commission in 1929 had this to say of the relationship between the Indian candidate and voter: "The candiate at present best utilises his scanty resources and sufficiently serves his ends if he concentrates his energies on a short electoral campaign before polling takes place. Often his activities are confined to the period between nomination and election. Once elected, he has no inducement, even if he had the means, to nurse his constituency for the next contest or to explain the course of events and the view he takes in regard to it. If he has put forward any political programme at the elections, he may ignore it in the confidence that he will not be called to account." Indian leaders at the time disputed the correctness of the Commission's view. But today, after twenty-five years of independence, an Indian historian is in a position to attempt a more detached evaluation of it.

As a political scientist, Iqbal Narain is perhaps entitled to confine himself to high, abstract issues and select his data accord-

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ingly. But a student of history, such as this reviewer, is obliged to recall how in the wake of their success in the fifth parliamentary election, Mrs. Gandhi's partymen forcibly seized the head-quarters of the Old Congress in Delhi, and the Prime Minister seemed either unwilling or unable to restrain them. Incidents such as these make one hesitate to agree outright with the author that it is Dawn and not Twilight.

ANTHONY D'COSTA

CARRACKS, CARAVANS AND COMPANIES: The Structural Crisis in the European-Asian Trade in the early 17th Century; by Niels Steensgaard, (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 17). Studentlitteratur, 1973.

The discovery of the sea route to Asia, in itself, was not responsible for the disappearance of the traditional intercontinental trade routes connecting Asia and Europe. 'The Portuguese power and its trading company could not strike a mortal blow on the Caravan trade mechanism, for "after a set-back at the beginning of the 16th century the trade routes through the Middle East regained their former importance and at the end of the 16th century the transcontinental Caravan trade reached dimensions which must presumably be regarded as its historical culmination" (p. 9). It was the establishment of the North-east European trading companies. the Dutch voorkompagnieen, the East India Company and the Dutch United East India Company that made the land routes to the East fall into desuetude. The significant events that led to the triumph of the Companies and the retirement of the transcontinental traders in favour of the chartered companies and the long array of causes and consequences of the shift of balance in the European-Asian trade in the 17th century are analysed in this book with fascinating lucidity.

It is a study in structural crisis, in the sense of a confrontation between fundamentally different commercial institutional complexes. The central theme of the book is an investigation of the circumstances, causes and cardinal events that brought about an unsuspected turn in the direction of trade routes and the fall of Hormuz which under the Portuguese rule in the second half of the 670

16th century and the beginning of the 17th experienced its hey-day. The importance of Hormuz as a trading centre, as a redistributive centre for world's commodities is well recognized in the description of Pyrard "If the world was an egg, Hormuz would be its yolk."

Defects inherent in the system of trade followed by the Portuguese estranged the merchant communities that converged in Hormuz and made them seek other routes viz., via Kandahar. The examination of this structural change yields new and excitingly original results. The problem is approached from a different angle also by analysing the external events that led to the Persian-English attack on the Portuguese fortress of Hormuz in 1622. The investigation shows the intrinsic superiority of the North-west European trading companies over the Carracks and Caravans.

There is more of economic than historical analysis in the book. At times the details of the profit and loss accounts, and other minor problems which have little or no direct bearing on the thesis, lead the reader to the verge of boredom and despair. But that does not, in any manner, minimise the value of this study. The critical scholarship paraded through the pages of this book is simply astonishing. The volume of original archival sources collected from England, France, Italy Spain and Portugal and the extent of literature consulted will certainly prove the worth of this study. But what is more important here, to be sure, is not the profusion of sources utilized, but the critical objectivity achieved in interpreting them. The book can be regarded as a worthy contribution to the existing literature on the commercial history of the world.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

THE COLLAPSE OF BRITISH POWER, by Correlli Barnett, Published by Eyre Methuen, London, pp. XII + 643. Price £ 5.

This learned work recounts, in a critical manner, the story of a most momentous period in the history of Great Britain—1918 to 1945, which witnessed the decay and collapse of the British power, if not the decline and fall of the British empire. This decay had eaten into the vitals of the great and imposing Empire and showed manifestations of weakness and paralysis in the organization of the state. As a result, factors that contributed to the strength and

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### REVIEWS

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affluence in material and mental spheres, were generally permitted to contract and go in declivity. The author gives a thorough and almost suffocatingly fact-packed analysis of the long array of misguided policies followed by the successive governments in Britain during this period which sought to preserve or extend the national strength and allowed the empire to slid into disaster. His merciless scholastic suffumigation causes many a politician and busy romantic of Britain who believed that morality rather than power ought to govern relations between states, to come out as the approvers in the nation's debacle. Mr. Barnett attributes the causes of this collapse to the yielding readiness of the British statesmen to appease the wrath of other nations. The pacifist tendency of the British politics is subjected here to hypercritical treatment. "The very bedrock of the national character" says the author, "had been crumbled since the eighteenth century. Whereas the pre-Victorian Englishman had been renowned for his quarrelsome temper and his willingness to back his argument with his fists-or his feet-now the modern British, like the elderly, shrank from conflict or unpleasantness of any kind" (p. 241). One cannot certainly ignore the sentiment behind this statement when one is aware of the fact that the British discharged the 'White Men's burden' only with their fists and feet rather than with soft sentimentalism. But could this national character have been maintained constant for all time, even if the British statesmen desisted from moralising and tried to strengthen their fists and feet? The conceptual basis of the thesis is weak but the material bases from which the analysis of the problem of the collapse proceeds are strong. The author's success lies in his locating the 'whys' behind the deeply pacifistic and escapist public opinion that permitted the British government to handle the national and international policies in a feeble and nerveless way. The economic, technological, political—national and international—and strategical situations in England could not be, in the changed conditions of the twentieth century, guided and controlled by Britain alone, without reference to other powers. Mr. Barnett rightly recognises this when he said. "And it was shortage of resources-economic and financial—which posed by far the gravest question of all for the British Government after the fall of France in 1940. For whether or not England escaped defeat at the hands of the enemy, the mere continuance of the war would itself, inevitably, inexorably, bring

independent British power to an end through national bankruptcy and economic ruin. It was a situation which no British Government had to face since England first emerged as a great power in the wars against Louis XIV" (p. 586).

It is true that victory for Britain was not synonymous with the. preservation of British power and that her emphasis on victory was not with reference to the maintenance or extension of her power. But what was the cognizable alternative to victory Barnett says: "Churchill and his government quite deliberately, if in their view inevitably, chose to sacrifice England's existence as an independent power, a power living and waging war on her resources, for the sake of victory. It was the most romantically noble gesture of them all: the climax of British altruism in foreign policy' (p. 588). Plain commonsense would suggest that Britain, shorn off all power is any day preferable to Britain defeated and crushed under the boot of the German invader. Inspite of victory, it is true, that Britain had to bear the pangs of becoming "a warrior satellite" of the United States. With a heavy heart the author notes, "The British power had quietly vanished amid the stupendous events of the Second World War, like a ship-of-the-line going down unperceived in the smoke and confusion of battle."

It is no use blaming one individual or a group for what have taken place in England or in other countries during the period. Time is a great leveller and no man or nation can escape its hands perpetually engaged in reshaping and recasting existing things.

The nostalgic feelings for the good old order apart, the book gives a penetrating analysis of the major developments connected with the economy, politics, imperial policy, grand strategy, defence, industrial policy, technology, education etc. of Great Britain during the inter-war period.

The division of the book into six parts without providing for chapters, appears to be rather unnatural and cumbersome. The long-winding, unending discussions in part V. (pp. 237-577) certainly pose the prospect of a rough crossing for the reader. Nevertheless the inquiring student will revisit this mine of solid scholarship for what it contains and seeks to offer.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

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Published by
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
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for the THE ROOTS OF ANCIENT INDIA, by Walter A Fairservis, Jr., pp. xxv + 482, Allen and Unwin, 1971.

Fairservis' monograph ties together the theme of many of his articles and papers, on the proto-history of the Indian subcontinent. The monograph begins with the early Stone Age and terminates with the emergence of Buddhism which is associated with the urbanisation of the Ganges valley. The special contribution of the book relates to the neolithih and chalcolithic settlements on the borderlands of Iran and the Indian sub-continent, which at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. and the start of the third millennium were to be the precondition to the Indus valley urbanisation.

Fairservis discusses at length the crucial sites of South-eastern Iran, Baluchistan and the Makran, particularly the latter which he connects with the process of urbanisation. His discussion of sites such as Amri and pre-Harappan Kot Diji, and those of the Las Bela area, is both detailed and provocative. His major contention is that such sites demonstrate the successful adaptation of agriculture to the Indus valley environment and were therefore of substantial importance in the change from peasant communi-His analysis of nucleated and extended village ties to towns. settlements in Baluchistan suggests mainfold possibilities for further enquiry particularly in association with the general question of preconditions to urban evolution. In itself the analysis seems somewhat hypothetical, possibly because of the limited evidence, but if such analyses could be suggested for all areas where there is a nuclear town site surrounded by village settlements it may well lead to an interesting shift in the priorities of excavated evidence.

The emergence of civilisation in the Indus valley according to the author was due to a combination of three main factors: that the Indus plain was capable of supporting urban centres which links up with his discussion on the successful adaptation of agriculture, that there was some commingling of Iranian (from Bampur, Khurab and Seistan) and indigenous elements in Baluchistan which became the basis for the innovatory trends so necessary to civilisation, and that there was a social readiness for civilisation. In the last rather ambiguous phrase he includes a variety of factors but gives special emphasis to the migration of peoples from the hills to the Indus plains (either because of a rise in popu-

lation or because of a sub-division in land holdings), the contact being maintained with the highlands possibly through trade and itinerant smiths and the intensification of the traditional village organisation. These factors are then linked with the Harappa cultural style in which he emphasises the strong central control. The preconditions to Harappan urbanisation in the Punjab and Gujarat are not given the same detailed consideration.

The decline of the Indus civilisation is treated comparatively briefly. For the post-Harappan period there is at best a summary of the information and the general theories concerning the identity of various archaeological cultures, such as those of the Copper Hoards and the Painted Grey Ware, with the Aryans. There are a number of useful appendices such as the extensive list of Radio Carbon dates for south Asia and the population of the Indus civilisation and also the population estimates for selected sites in the Indo-Iranian borderlands.

There is considerable emphasis on the ecological factor and this is a comparatively new dimension to the study of archaeology in India. The understanding of a transition from one type of society to another involves a consideration of the environmental factors. These Fairservis relates to the material culture with good effect.

The excursus into 'the historical dawn' closes the book—and perhaps just as well, as here it seems, that the author is out of his depth, if the definition of kshatriya (p. 378) is an indication.

The most useful portions of the book are the chapters on the pre-conditions to and the evolution of, the Indus civilisation, the area which Fairservis knows best and on which his own major experience is based. Possibly if he had concentrated only on this area and tried to co-relate his hypotheses more closely with the material remains, the result would have been more rewarding. Nevertheless Fairservis' study is different from most books on Indian pre and proto-history in that, apart from the documentation of information, it does attempt to take the archaeologist onto the final stage—that of interpreting the information in an effort to describe the type of society which produced a particular culture.

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SOCIALISM IN INDIA (edited by B. R. Nanda) Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1972, p. 299, Rs. 35/-.

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This work is an outcome of two seminars held on 'Socialism in India 1919-39' by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi in November 1968 and October 1969. The organizers of the seminars selected the inter-war period because they believed that Gandhi's leadership had given to these two decades 'an underlying unity' (preface v). The discussions following the papers were 'stimulating' (p. vi) but it is a pity that they have not been included probably for want of space.

The study of the idea of Socialism and its development in relation to Indian politics is likely to throw light on the content and meaning of the Freedom Movement in India. And the nine papers included in this book cover, inter alia, the influence of the Communist International on Indian Politics, the interaction of the British labour and the Indian left, the nature of the Agrarian Movements, and the effects of Socialist ideas on literature in some of the Indian languages.

Shri B. R. Nanda, the Editor, provides in the first paper a lucid and broad historical survey of the Socialist ideas from the Russian Revolution to the formation of Trade Unions, and the Congress Socialist Party at Patna in May 1934. Nanda thinks that the Russian Revolution which had provided a vision to the intelligentsia in India, was rejected by the Congress hierarchy which looked to Gandhi for leadership-Gandhi, 'the creative leader of Nationalism in History' (p. 16) whose methods yielded dividends, while those of M. N. Roy who misjudged the political situation ended in futility. But he regards Jawaharlal Nehru's view in the formulation and propagation of Socialist ideas crucial. Dr. Vijay Sen Budhraj offers a refreshing and tightlypacked account of the impact of the Communist International on Indian politics which has been in the long run marginal, though M. N. Roy played the key-role. But the reason why the Communist movement could not gather strength in India was (the author maintains) due to the dominent influence of Gandhi over the Indian masses, and the Russian leaders' confusing the 'emancipation of the working class with the greatness of their state' (p. 39). Zafar Imam examines on the basis of vernacular papers (usually neglected by Indian scholars) the Soviet influence on Indian politics which is evident in the concept of self-determination, in the phenomenal rise of prices involving 1.5 million workers in 1920 (p. 47) in the Workers' and Peasents' Party activities in Bombay and Calcutta (p. 61) and in the emergence of organizations like the All India Socialist Youth Congress which gave an impetus to the Indian National Movement, though he concedes that the Muslim Nationalist opinion was not sympathetic to the Russian revolution because of the anti-religious orientation of the Bolshevik policy. The author shows that by 1929 anti-imperialism became the hall-mark of the Indian National movement.

In a learned and meticulous paper on 'British Labour and the Indian Left' Dr. Partha Sarathi Gupta analyses the interaction of the British Labour Movement and the Indian Labour and Socialist Movements (1919-1939). Dr. Gupta writes, "The most important achievement was to organise a tour of India by three British Labour Politicians (of whom two were ex-M.P.s-Ellen Wilkinson, Leonard Matters, and Monica Whately' (p. 109). What is not mentioned is that V. K. Krishna Menon was also a member of this delegation, and acted as its Secretary, and the members of the delegation expressed their gratitude to Menon 'for a considerable' research involved in the preparation of the historical part' of the Report. Furthermore his judgment seems questionable: Indian Left was getting psychologically prepared to fight Britain even when she was at war with Fascism. The seeds of 1942 and the Indian National Army were sown'. The answer to this is posthoc and not propter-hoc. In a cogently argued and illuminating article, P. C. Joshi discusses Jawaharlal Nehru's role and examines the crucial factors why the Socialist ideas did not gain potential strength. Nehru had the vision, but was not able to create the supporting organisation (which really means funds, an influential press and a net-work of local machinery) to carry the ideas to the masses, and nowhere the ideas were given an ideological or institutional form. Thus the intellectual framework of Indian socialism was evolved in a rudimentary form. Dr. Bimla Prasad seeks to establish an objective co-relation between anti-imperial approach towards international affairs and socialism and shows that India's anti-imperialist strength merged with an unprecedented upsurge against imperialism and colonialism.

Dr. Bipan Chandra restores in a candid and learned way to its historical context the revolutionary terrorist movement of Northern

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India during 1920's. The author attempts to assess critically not the role but the social base and the ideological make-up of those youngmen who were not 'mindless patriots', but who had acquired the Socialist understanding of society, the State, Nationalism, Imperialism and Revolution. These youngmen belonged to the lower middle class and were committed to Socialism, but did not go beyond nationalism; and the fruits of their sacrifices were reaped by the Congress. Bipan Chandra offers valid reasons for their failure which he attributes to their pre-occupation with individual action, and apathy to the total mechanism of revolutionary political action. The portrait of these revolutionaries is largely based on memoirs and autobiographies, which are reconstructions in retrospect, and are regarded as low grade type of historical evidence. It is perhaps misleading to put ideological labels on Bhagat Singh and his like (p. 177) because they are conspicuous for a certain temper of mind, not for the propagation of a line of any kind. Binay Bhushan Chaudhri offers a learned piece on the Agrarian Movements in Bihar and Bengal (1919-1945). This is one of those examples, where local leadership being disillusioned with Gandhi's methods, embarked on a more sustained and revolutionary activity. · And, finally, there are papers on the impact of socialist literature on Marathi and Telugu literature.

Socialism is a vague word open to various interpretations. Does it mean social ownership of means of production or social equality? What will be its organisational form, highly centralized form or democratic type? These questions remain unanswered, and the word Socialism has been taken for granted. There is no cross reference here to Socialism in other countries. This work is basically a historical account of the origin and development of Socialism in India, and the crucial role has been ascribed to the role of ideas of certain leaders. The total impression left on the mind is that the propagation of Socialism in India was, the work of ideologues to whom ideas have a more inspiring import than material force. If his conclusion is sound, then it is difficult to reconcile it with the generally accepted notion that Socialism does not penetrate from above but from below. This probably explains why the Socialist movement in India did not gain the force and the intensity of a revolutionary movement. Socialism is never the work of the idealogues only. The Socialist theory does not subsist, so to speak, 'in the air' it does not emerge from the society as a flower from a • bud. In socialist terms the problem before our leaders was not simply to interpret socialism which some of them like Nehru and M. N. Roy tried to do in their own way (though they did not formulate it ideologically) but to change society. And the possibility of producing a change is dependent on certain necessary conditions, on the reaching of a critical point which precipitate a cataclysm.

It is the class consciousness of the proletariat which precedes and prepares the Socialist revolution, though historical understanding is provided by scholars in the initial stages. The vanguard party is the necessary carrier of the proletarian class-consciousness. This work does not analyse the state of contemporary society which should explain why Socialism as a movement, if not as a creed, did not assume wider dimensions in the body politic of India; it does not unfold the different elements and their interactions in society which impeded the revolutionary movement. P. C. Joshi has hinted at some of the factors responsible for the set-back caused to the Socialist movement, and Zafar Imam on some of the reactions of the Indian nationalists towards the Socialist ideological methods, but the question what were the conflicting tendencies, resistances. and rival forces-nationalist, liberal and governmental-which jeopardised the growth of socialist movement, remains unanswered by the participants in the seminar. Could one say then that the contributors to this volume over-looked the role and psychology of the peasantry and working classes in the contemporary society which is like playing music without instruments? Could one go a step further and add that the views of leaders to whom the cause of Socialism was dear were conditioned by the bourgeois mentality which they had begun to acquire? Did not Marx say that neither thought nor language forms an autonomous domain but is fashioned by the voluntary actions of the contemporaries and long accepted ideas reflecting contemporaries' limited horizon. clude then that this work is largely a burgeoise interpretation of Could one conthe Socialist ideas and movements? That perhaps would be a facile generalisation. This collection, has considerable merit of comprehensiveness and scholarship, and, it is a great convenience to have so much put together in a single volume.

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COINAGE OF THE SATAVAHANAS AND COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS, edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri, published by the Nagpur University, 1972; pp. 142 with a few plates: price Rs. 40.00.

The volume under review comprises the proceedings of two seminars organised in connection with the 59th Annual Session of of the Nagpur University in November, 1970. There are eight papers in Section I (Coinage of the Sātavāhanas) and four in Section II (Coins from Excavations).

We are glad to note that the volume exhibits the care its editor has devoted on it. Thanks to him, it is not full of misprints and other blemishes as such volumes, printed in our country, are often found to be. The reviewer congratulates Dr. Shastri and feels for him as a fellow-sufferer having conducted sixteen such inter-university seminars and edited and published their proceedings during the past seven and half years. It is no secret that only a few papers presented at a seminar are of any importance, that many of them recapitulate more or less known facts and that a few exhibit a tendency to theorising and a lack of critical acumen. It is also known that errors of language and facts are fairly wide-spread while a number of the papers cannot be printed without thoroughly revising the authors' language. The difficulty of a conscientious editor is considerable because he may not like to publish something which is below the standard and to show a participant's scholarship in a poor light.

It is a matter of satisfaction to us that parts of the volume under review are quite informative and interesting. The difference between seminars on a numismatic and a general subject is that it is possible for the participants in the former to bring to light new coins and types, although here also the decipherment of the legend and determination or identification of a symbol may be erroneous. In any case, we are glad to note that a few new or rare coin types are noticed in the volume under review. The most interesting among them are the square copper coin (1.85 cms., 77.5 grs.) of one of the earlier Sātakarnis said to be manufactured in the punch-marked technique and Sāta's east copper coin

(2.2 cms, 100 grs.) bearing what has been described as a female figure and identified with the goddess Lakshmī. See K. D. Bajpai's paper, pp. 27 ff, Plates İ, Nos. 1-2.

Among articles which we read with some interest falls P. R. K. Prasad's 'Silver Portrait Coins of the Satavahanas' (pp. 68 ff). The legend, on the reverse of the silver coins of Vasishthiputra Sātakarņi and Gautamīputra Yajña-Sātakarņi were read by me respectively as-(1) Arahanasha Vāhittimākanasha Tiru-Hātakanisha and (2) Arahanasha Gotami-putasha Hiru-Yaña-Hātakanisha. Recently it has been suggested that what I read as ha and sha following the footsteps of Rapson, Bühler and other pūrvasūris, should be read respectively as cha and ku so that the reverse legend on Vāsistthīputra's coin would read Arachanaku Vāhittimākanaku Tiru-Chātakaņiku. Prasad accepts my reading of ha and my critics' reading of ku so that the legend stands as Arahanaku Vāhitti-mākanaku Tiru-Hātakaniku in his reading. sorry that I cannot accept such modifications in the reading. change of sa or sa to ha in the Southern Prakrit is demonstrated by Hakusiri (Sanskrit Saktiśrī) in the Nanaghat inscriptions in which it is impossible read Chakusiri. Cf. Hāla=Sāta, hiru=śrī. The letter ha in the case of the legend does not resemble cha, but very closely resembles one of the forms of ha as found in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions and the Kondamudi and Mayidavolu plates. Likewise, the use of sha for the 6th case-ending in the Southern Prakrit is demonstrated by the Bhattinrolu inscriptions in which it is not possible to read it as kw; cf. Kurasha, Samanadāsho. Shīhagothiya; also majusam and majusha. It has to be roticed that the letters k and r have lower limbs of the same shape so that the medial sign of u when attached to ka would have resembled the sign in ru in tiru and hiru in the reverse lecends on the coins of Vasishthīputra Śatakarni and Gautamīputra Yajña-Sātakarni. This is not the case and it shows that the proposed reading of sha as ku is improbable. Moreover, the language of the legends being Prakrit, a Prakrit suffix is more expected than a Dravidian one.

The volume is a welcome addition to our numismatic literature.

D. C. SIRCAR

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LAKSHMINATH BEZBAROA: THE SAHITYARATHI OF ASSAM by Maheshwar Neog (Ed.), (Gauhati University, 1972).

Lakshminath Bezbaroa, more familiar in Assam by the sobriquet Sahityarathi, 'a chariot—borne warrior in the field of letters', was a pioneer and in more ways than one. Primarily he was a prose writer, albeit he composed some beautiful lyrics and songs too. What was more, he wrote, to the annoyance of many, (including the poet Rabindranath Tagore, to whose sister he was married), in his native Assamese—discarding the more sophisticated, and culturally advanced, Bengali. His prose style is inimitable, racy and easily readable. His medium was fiction, drama, folk tales, essays on literary, cultural—even political—subjects, studies of outstanding religious personalities of Assam. By no means an uncommon achievement was his own autobiography—'Mor Jiwan-Sowaran'—rated as 'one of the finest works' in Indian literature.

The book is an anthology, a compendium of articles written on the occasion of Lakshminath Bezbaroa's birth centenary. Typical of the genre, it suffers from a basic unevenness of the fare doled out. Thus such well-turned out essays as those by Professors Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Lalit Kumar Barua mingle with trite compositions by his two daughters, Aruna Mukerjea and Ritha Devi and his sister, Dipika. Another difficulty, and this again is perhaps endemic to all such works, is a remarkable lack of any degree of editing or critical appraisal—without exception, most of the pieces are sickeningly repetitions and unduly adulatory in tone. A little more care too could have been taken in the reproduction of photographs and more specifically the one on the dust-cover, a more composed demeanour might have brought out the man better.

Such works as the one under review do no doubt have their place in our scheme of things and centenaries provide appropriate enough occasions for their appearance. One wonders though if their usefulness could not be further enhanced by a conscious, if determined effort at providing an appraisal—agonising though it may prove—and a definitive assessment that would place their subject-matter at its true worth, and in its genuine, historical perspective.

PARSHOTAM METRA

FROM GURU NANAK TO MAHARAJA RANJIT SİNGH: ESSAYS IN SIKH HISTORY, by J. S. Grewal, (Guru Nanak University, 1972).

This slender volume of 18 essays big and small, ranging all the way from 3-4 pages to 13-14, and showing a distinct imprint of having been composed at different periods of time afford a panoramic view of Sikh history. There are three principal themes—Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh and 18th century Sikh polity—with such miscellany as Cunningham as an historian of the Sikhs and Toynbee's interpretation of Sikh history thrown in on the side. By and large they are useful bits giving an interesting, if at times controversial, interpretation of men and affairs. Professor Grewal is knowledgeable and writes with facility.

Three principal criticisms may be made. At the outset the author, or someone in his place, could have with advantage edited the work, taking away most of its often-times annoying repetitiousness and arranging the pieces under separate heads. ideally for the reader, if one may add, preceding each with a brief introduction. The whole would thus fall into a well-order ed volume instead of a cluster, loosely held together between two covers. A second point stems mainly from the first. research, foot-notes instead of being lumped together at the end, where their usefulness is minimal, are carried alongside the text. This makes it easier to follow the argument and co-relate it to the evidence that sustains it. And finally proof-reading and the printer's howlers. These are literally a legion: on one page, by no means exceptional, this reviewer counted five! Somehow one has the uncomfortable feeling that the book was hurriedly conceived-and even more hurriedly rushed through the press.

Such blemishes however, and they are trite at best, detract from the credence and authenticity that normally go with a research publication and that too sponsored, or under-written, by a University.

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### REVIEWS

INDIAN CIVILIZATION: THE FIRST PHASE, PROBLEMS OF A SOURCE-BOOK, transactions of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Volume 17 (General Editor V. K. Gokak), Edited and Introduced by S. C. Malik, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1971, pages 305 + xxii, Rs. 40.00.

. The Central Ministry of Education and Social Welfare has among its projects for the Fourth Five Year Plan one on "A sourcebook of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilization". The project was assigned to the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, which arranged a preliminary seminar, in the third week of September, 1970, to discuss general problems concerning the planning of a sourcebook for the ancient period of Indian Civilization. The present work includes the papers read and a summary of the discussions held at the seminar. The champions of academic freedom may not like the idea of the government dictating the work to be done. But projects of such magnitude cannot be completed by individuals; it is only through institutional endeavour that their financial and organizational problems can be managed. What should legitimately be objected to is the eventuality of the government using the projects to propagate the official view, if any. There is nothing wrong if the government asks the scholars to investigate a problem, but, if it points out what to say, then the scholars may refuse to oblige.

In his introductory remarks S. C. Malik speaks of the romance and fascination of writing a history of Indian civilization, 'the fruitful lessons about human history' which, its 'patterns and generalizations' can teach and the necessity for giving 'something meaningful to the dwindling students of humanities' to wean them and the lay 'from chauvinistic and parochial thoughts'. It is a fact that history, like other subjects of art and humanities, does not have any utilitarian purpose, but, it can be helpful in building up the mind and mood of the people.

Malik criticises 'a large majority of all shades of historians' for shutting their eyes to any effort to use concepts, theories or frames of reference. No doubt, absolute objectivity may have only a philosophical existence. But, if hundred percent objectivity cannot be achieved (I do not know why Malik chooses to single out history alone as liable to subjectivism, when, what to say of humanities, even social sciences, such as sociology, are not free

from some amount of subjectivism), it does not mean that we should reject the ideal of objectivity altogether. Ideals, like morals, serve to improve and uplift the actual performance.

It has often been pointed that every generation has to write its own history. Historical research consists in asking significant questions. The history has to be in the conceptual framework relevant to the generation writing the history which employs idioms known to it. If this amounts to subjectivism, it is not to be given up. The task of a historian is to determine facts: a researcher may stop his work after determining the nature of isolated facts; but, the process of historical interpretation goes beyond it. If the historian is accused for not philosophising or for not generalising with a view to find out general laws, then the historian will blissfully admit his inability. He does attempt generalisations of a different nature, but, in view of the limitations of evidence, will submit that the new role is beyond his competence and may gladly be taken up by a sociologist or a philosopher.

In preparing such a sourcebook a vital consideration is the background of the readers for whom it is meant. The nature and content of the information to be compiled in the sourcebook will depend upon the extent to which the readers are already acquainted with the subject.

Another ticklish question in this connexion is the scope of the term civilization. There is no single definition of the term acceptable to all concerned. One can have some idea of the different shades of opinion from the six papers included in the present volume under the section, 'Approaches to Civilization'. It has generally been felt that 'a comprehensive definition of civilization touches almost all the fields of human achievements'. In view of its wide scope, civilization covers diverse and varied aspects and hence is a fit subject for interdisciplinary approach of study.

There is no fixed rule to determine the share of different disciplines involved in a multi-disciplinary study. Apparently there is no question of a democratic equality with mathematical precision. The role of the disciplines is in accordance with their importance in the investigation of a particular problem. The subject "Indian Civilization: the first phase" belongs to a well-defined time and space. The study pertains to the past and hence is a part of history. The historical method, with all its limitations,

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will be the major discipline for the study of this subject. The multidisciplinary approach is intended to supplement the main discipline, to make up for its shortcomings and gaps. But, the other disciplines, with all their importance, have only a subsidiary role.

In studying Indian civilization the vexed question of periodization and chronology has often been discussed but probably without an answer acceptable to all. In the seminar the general opinion was in favour of using the term 'first phase' in place of 'ancient period'. The end-date was roughly taken to be A.D. 1200, but, as the chronological divisions for north India may not suit the landmarks in south India, it was suggested that scholars entrusted with the project may alter it to A.D. 1300 according to the requirements of their case. The question has been discussed in the section on 'geographical and chronological limits'.

Another significant question in this context is the coverage of other countries which came under the impact of Indian culture. The original project, as conceived by the Ministry of Education, envisaged equal emphasis on Indian civilization and Asian civilization. Even in this seminar, though it was confined to Ancient India, the problems concerning Ancient Asia often cropped up before the participants. A book on ancient Indian civilization must give some space to describe the form and contact of Indian civilization with other countries of Asia. There cannot be any dispute about it; the only difference of opinion can be about the manner of description and the space to be assigned. In the present volume eleven articles in the section "Other Asian countries and India" survey the sources for different aspects of culture in these countries. But, considering the fact that the seminar was intended to discuss the problems in the preparation of a sourcebook, some of these papers could have found a place in a modified and abridged form in the sourcebook itself; they do not have any justification for being included in the present volume.

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General problems about the preparation of the sourcebook, have been discussed by some of our senior scholars in the two sections "The Perspective" and "Difficulties". It is not possible to discuss, in the limited space of this review, different views on individual points and problems. They contain useful advice which people who plan the sourcebook must keep in mind.

More businesslike suggestions about the sourcebook are to be found in the section entitled "structure". A. D. Pusalkar, Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya, A. Sharma and R. Thapar give a table of contents for the proposed sourcebook, B. N. Mukherjee, B. Saraswati and V. N. Misra discuss problems of methodology.

In the seminar it was generally felt that the sourcebook has to be selective in its treatment; it cannot possibly be an exhaustive catalogue of all the sources. Further, there should be a judicious blending of references to sources or quotations from sources, narrative and bibliography. There may be a general introduction to the sourcebook in which most of the topics which V. K. Gokak lists for the first part of his plan of a sourcebook (pp. 114-118) may be covered. The sourcebook proper may be divided into a number of sections and sub-sections to cover the topics and subtopics coming within the scope of civilization. sources of references are to be arranged in a chronological order and, to avoid repetition of information, subsequent references may be mentioned or quoted only to the extent they give additional information. The compilation of sources may be done in such a manner as to reflect the diversity of sources and regional variations. For every section and subsection there should be a separate introduction which should aim at 'scientific analysis and integrative descripton'. A selected bibliography may be added as an aid to further reading.

The reporting of the discussions has been done in a new but useful way. "Only the main points and issues arising out of these discussions have been briefly noted, without resorting to a verbatim record of trivial corrections and objections to specific points in the papers, unless these contributed to the essential involved. The names of the speakers, of who-said-what, has also thus been dropped".

The volume, however, includes a number of papers (pp. 151-289) in the section "Utilization of sources: Examples", most of which should not have found a place in it. They generally demonstrate the usefulness of different types of sources; but, this is unarticles is not when we discuss how to plan a sourcebook but actually when we prepare it. Some of these articles can be used as introductory articles in the sourcebook.

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The seminar has no doubt served a useful purpose. We have at last made a serious effort to complete a project of great magnitude. A large number of scholars sat together and squarely faced the problems and difficulties involved. Obviously nobody can expect unanimity on all the problems, but, there was a sincere effort to come to some decision. It is a good beginning and those who are associated with the preparation of the sourcebook will find the volume of great use to them.

LALLANJI GOPAL

KATHERINE MAYO AND INDIA, by Manoranjan Jha, (Peoples' Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971), 128 pp.

Dr. Manoranjan Jha has done a commendable job of writing and research in digging out information on an extremely controversial and anti-Indian book, published in U.S.A. in 1927. Katherine Mayo's famous (or infamous) Mother India created a sensation in India when it came out. Mahatma Gandhi called it 'A Drain Inspectors' Report' that succeeded in prejudicing the minds of Americans against India.

In five short, but well—documented chapters, Dr. Jha has convincingly answered the questions—what motivated her to write the book, what were the sources from which she drew her inspiration, what was the impact of the book on English and American public opinion and what reaction did it produce in India. Dr. Jha's judgment and conclusions are based on a study of all available sources, in particular he had the opportunity to study the private papers of Katherine Mayo lodged in the Historical and Manuscript Division of the Yale University Library in U.S.A.

Katherine Mayo was an American journalist and writer. She was sixty years of age when Mother India was published and was chosen to visit India as a part of the British Government's policy to have influential American writers who were generally hostile to subject people struggling for freedom, to visit India and to produce books and write articles to educate American public opinion in favour of the British administration. Her book The Isles of Fear (published in 1925) attracted the attention of British authorities and the choice fell on her as the best instrument to provide the American public prompt and interesting intelligence on Indian affairs.

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Two years after the Isles of Fear, followed Mother India and was given wide circulation not only in U.S.A. but Britain and India.

In Mother India, she made a scathing attack on Hindu society and culture, Indian national movement and Indian national leaders. She chose Mahatma Gandnhi as the target of her attack as he was an arch-enemy of the British. As the government's strategy was evolving clearly, she had nothing to say against the Muslims. In fact the Government was anxious to get the Muslims to welcome her book.

Dr. Jha further shows how the Rockefeller Foundation was made to take interest in her visit to India. It was thought that she could effectively present a picture of the menace that India posed to the health of the world. This explains why she was so eloquent on depicting ugly and unhealthy sectors of Indian life.

Her primary motives was clear—to prevent Americans from developing any sympathy for Indian constitutional advance and to create an impression on their minds that Kipling was right when he sang:

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet...."

The book did do damage to India, Americans wrote critically of India; even the most advanced Liberals in Britain began to hesitate to advocate constitutional reforms for India, the reaction in India was different from what the Government officials had expected. There was widespread and bitter criticism of Miss Mayo, hundreds of meetings were held in protest. Mother India had a very adverse effect on the development of cordial relations between Americans and Indians. Bóoks such as Uncle Sham: Being the Strange Tale of a Civilization Run Amok came out, in retaliation. Some newspapers even suggested that American goods be boycotted by Indians.

Dr. Jha's is a lucid but objective presentation of the whole story of how Mother India came to be written and the varying reactions it produced. Though it has long since passed into the realm of poisoncus propaganda, a study such as the one under review, is refreshingly new.

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A HISTORY OF SOUTH KANARA, by K. V. Ramesh, published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970; pages 26 + 340 including Bibligraphy and Index, with a few maps and plates; price Rs. 30.00.

The history of South Kanara is more or less of local interest and Dr. Ramesh was specially interested in it because he hails from the area. The choice of the subject was bold since there was, in the field, another work on the same subject by another historian of South Kanara. It is the History of Tuluva (Ancient Karnataka, Vol. I, 1936) by the late Dr. B. A. Saletore. However the young author deserves credit for his performance. We are glad to note that he has succeeded in dealing with the epigraphical evidence more thoroughly and satisfactorily.

Besides the chapters entitled 'Introduction' (pp. xvi-xxvi), 'Beginnings of History' (pp. 1-34) and 'Conclusion' (pp. 308-13), the subject is treated by the author under the following heads: Ch. III—The Early Alupas (pp. 35-96); Ch. IV—The Medieval Alupas (pp. 97-136); Ch. V—Hoysala Occupation and the Last Alupa Rulers (pp. 137-49); Ch. VI—Under Vijayanagara (pp. 150-240); Ch. VII—Administration (pp. 241-68); Ch. VIII—Social and Economic Conditions (pp. 269-91) and Ch. IX—Religions (pp. 292-307). The author's collection of data is satisfactory and his treatment of the subject sober.

We have noticed only a few cases of carelessness; e.g. 'Ray Chaudhuri (sic): Political History of India (sic)', p. 8, note 24) and 'Rayachaudhari (sic): Political History of Ancient India' (p. 38, note 17); 'Raghuvamśa, Chapter (sic) 4 (p. xxiii); 'Satiyaputo which is mentioned as such in the Girnar and Kalsi versions, as Satiyapute in the Jaugada version and as Satiyaputra in the Shahbazgarhi and Manshera (sic) versions of the second rock edict' (pp. 1-2); etc.

It may be noticed that the reading of the Kalsi version is not Satiyaputo but Sātiyaputa which seems to go against those who are inclined to associate Satiya° with Satya°. And this doubt seems to be supported by the fact that, in the Girnar version of Asoka's edicts, Sanskrit tya is modified to cha and not to tiya. The author should have noticed that the Erragudi version gives Satīkapute

which also goes against Sanskrit Satya.° The Kalsi and Erragudi versions, taken together, suggest that the Sanskrit form could be  $S\bar{a}tika$ ° or better  $S\bar{a}ntika$  (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p. 11, note 4). It should also be remembered that the king of the Kerala people was called Keralaputra (Greek Kerobothra) so that  $S\bar{a}tikaputra$  or  $S\bar{a}ntikaputra$  would indicate the king of the  $S\bar{a}tika$  or  $S\bar{a}ntika$  people. The location of the dominions of this ruler to the north of the territories of the Keralaputra seems to be justified. For some coins tentatively attributed to the said people, see Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, p. 133 and note 1, p. 143.

We recommend the interesting book to the students of South Indian history.

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THE ST. THOMAS CHRISTIAN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIA, edited by George Menachery, Vol. II, 1973, 8 + 218, Price . Rs 175.00.

The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India is a well brought out and large sized volume. But size, to be sure, is the poorest test of a man's ability or worth; much less is it the determinant of the value of a book.

A well authenticated history of Christianity in India had been a long-felt need; but the difficulty in the venture has been heightened either for want of original sources or for the availability of only scrappy information and undependable secondary sources. Tradition that has spun round many a problem in respect of Christianity in India has in no small measure added to the spirals of the difficulty. The present work is no doubt a bold venture, though it failed to achieve its noble aim in so far as it could not claim comprehensiveness. First, the title itself is more attractive than accurate with reference to the contents. It is suffused from beginning to end with a bias in favour of writing for readers of the Catholic fold. Due to lack of objectivity it has thus sunk low in sentimentalism and attachment, with the result that, the editor has dismissed totally from account denominations and groups which

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n ie n have also played important roles in the spread of Christian ideals, or explained away in a simplistic manner the contributions of these protestant churches. In doing this he rode rough-shod over many consequential phases in the history of the St. Thomas Christians. An objective and non-partisan approach would have given the book a well-merited welcome. It was necessary to be a little more careful in regard to selection of topics and delimitation of their scope. Second, the topics incorporated in the volume have not been alphabetically arranged as they should be, according to accepted norms of an encyclopaedia. Referencing is thus an uphill task. This difficulty is aggravated by lack of an exhaustive index. And for that matter, though the book is a veritable reservoir of information, its utility is extremely limited; the reader is apt to turn desperate if he tries to locate a particular topic.

The thesis regarding the origin of St. Thomas Christianity as presented in the work is patchy and a jumble of disjointed phases. Recent works like that of Dr. G. M. Moraes, though seem to have been consulted, were not fully utilized to make out a strong case in defence of the traditional belief regarding the coming of St. Thomas to India. Much more deplorable is the detailing of the Portuguese period. It is fragmentary and inadequate as the present volume has shown it to be. The difficulty of the language in which most original sources for the period are recorded has hampered work in this area, but the admission of inability to consult even all the secondary sources (p. 33) is unpardonable. Poverty of scholarship is writ large on many a page of this volume. Some entries partake the character of shallow journalistic polemic. The editor ought to have taken care in the selection of topics and assignment of them to proper specialists in the field.

Some significant aspects of the development of Christianity in Kerala are either dealt with in precis to the extent of reducing their value in relation to others or left out as of no consequence. Denominational attachment or bias should not come in the way of historiography.

Nevertheless the book may be considered as a significant contribution to existing knowledge, though not without a few pardonable mistakes. A discreet selection of pictures would have

taken the cheapness out of this volume. The high price is not commensurate with the worth and size of the volume it, however, deserves to be read by students of history as a preliminary to the understanding of the development of Christianity in Kerala.

M. J. Koshy

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### Our Exchanges

- 1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- 2. Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
- 3 Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.
- 4. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London.
- 5. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
- 6. Folklore, Calcutta.

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- 7. Indian Archives, Delhi.
- 8. Indian Review, Madras.
- 9. India Quarterly, New Delhi.
- 10. Indo Asian Culture, New Delhi.
- 11. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
- 12. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- 13. Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
- 14. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- 15. Journal of United Provinces Historical Society, Lucknow.
- 16. Political Scientist, Ranchi.
- 17 Studies in Islam, New Delhi.
- 18. University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Birmingham?
- 19 University of Ceylon Review.
- 20. Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur.

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(continued from p. 1)

(1) The Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanasūri, edited by Dr. REVIEWS: A. N. Upadhye and published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay; (2) Jungle Alliance: Japan and the Indian National Army by Joyce C. Lebra, published by Donald More, Asia Pacific Press, Singapore; (3) Sri Aurobindo An Interpretation, edited by V. C. Joshi, published by Vikas Publishing House Delhi; (4) The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala, Compiled by the Regional Records Survey Committee, edited by Prof. P. K. K. Menon, Kerala; (5) The Reign of Al-Mutawakkil by Shamsudin Miah, published by Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca; (6) Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, by Sarojini Regani Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad; (7) Twilight or Dawn, The Political change in India, by Iqbal Narain, Shivalal Agarwala & Company, Agra; (8) Carracks, Caravans and Companies, by Niels Steensgaard; (9) The Collapse of British Power by Correlli Barnett, published by Eyre Methuen, London; (10) The Roots of Ancient India, by Walter A Fairservis, Jr., Allen and Unwin; (11) Socialism in India, edited by B. R. Nanda, Vikas Publications, Delhi; (12) Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from Excavations, edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri, published by Nagpur University; (13) Bezbaroa: The Sahityarathi of Assam, by Maheshwar Neog, Gauhati University; (14) From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikh History, by J. S. Grewal, Guru Nanak University; (15) Indian Civilization: The First Phase, Problems of a Source-Book, edited by S. C. Malik Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; (16) Katherine Mayo and India, by Manoranjan Jha; (17) A History of South Kanara, by K. V. Ramesh and published by Karnatak University, Dharwar; (18) The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India, edited by George Menachery

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